nence at first, but gentlemen, that I dissolution in the the coolest man-

will you allow me and?'
I beheld his face. struck me like a a dead man whom onck to life. The orge Washington; none other than essed in the Revoently much agita-

what was the issue ose, and asked to the I had not the free truth is, I felt touch; he grasped affording me full his face. It was ien, I shuddered as ok of that visage-tent, he looked at tor from Carolina,

per declaring the e. 'Yes,' said I, vill sign my name But at that mo-I knew not why, and, 'is the mark

lown in the next

out drew from belaid upon the tae bones of Isaac on by the British. blish the Union. blish the Uniou-claration of Disso-the bones of Isaac h Carolinian, and ch upon his right

left the room. In the dead man's labor, I had fall-Was it not a e affirmative, and

singular," at the back of his right his head between ought.

is said that a cer-been asked if he the coming Sum-e negative, declar-d drink boiling lot hey would receive the States of the

ians on Thursday
"I wish," said
n old Buchanan's
ut that," retorted
Buchanan was in Carolina, has is-

Carolina, has be military law lately te. If volunters to themselves, the number be drafted, compelling them of their service

Mobile, Pensacola, ngton, N. C., and of the secession Portsmouth, Va., 18" only.

THE LIBERATOR -18 PUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. -AT-

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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant

with death, and an agreement with hell."

monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that

of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential man-

in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential man-sion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call govern-ment thus constituted a homogeneous to lead the

ment thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the under-standing of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in

the language of national jurisprudence that can define it— no model in the records of ancient history, or in the politi-

cal theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It

was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Conven-

tion from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacri-fee to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this conces-

VOL. XXXI. NO. 3.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1570.

sion."-JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Refuge of Oppression.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

THE ALTERNATIVE: A Separate Nationality, or the Africanization of the South.

Extracts from a pamphlet printed at New Orleans.

A sectional party, inimical to our institutions, and A sectional party, infinite at to our institutions, and four to our people, is about taking possession of Federal Government. The seed sown by the Abelitionists has vielded a luxurious harvest. ben Lincoln is in place, Garrison will be in power Constitution, either openly violated or emascu of its true meaning and spirit by the subtleties New England logic, is powerless for protection. usolidated despotism. Opposition tion, is the sole cohesive element of the trium ant faction. It did not receive the countenance a single vote in any one of the ten great cotton ates of the South! The question is at length presented: submission or secession. The ternative left us is this: a separate nationality

the Africanization of the South.

He has not analyzed this subject aright, nor probed to the bottom, who supposes that the real quarrel exceen the North and South is about the Territoes, or the decision of the Supremo Court, or ever the Constitution itself; and that, consequently, the may be stayed and the dangers arrested by the ing of new lines, and the signing of new com-The division is broader, and deeper, and ore incurable than this. The antagonism is funda-ntal and ineradicable. The true secret of it lies the total reversion of public opinion which has ocarred in both sections of the country in the last arter of a century on the subject slavery. It has not been more than twenty-five years since

arison was dragged through the streets of Boston, the a rope around his neck, for uttering Abolition stiments; and not thirty years since, the abolition slavery was seriously debated in the Legislature Virginia. Now, on the contrary, the radical ions of Sumner, Emerson and Parker, and the sination schemes of John Brown, are appliated anguil Hall; and the whole Southern mind, with apparalleled unanimity, regards the institution of ery as righteous and just, ordained of God, and a perpetuated by man. We do not propose to yee the causes of this remarkable revolution, will constitute one of the strangest charters. hich will constitute one of the strangest chapters f history. The fact is unquestionable. * The pro-slavery sentiment is of recent development. It is more recent than any of the great insentions which have created the distinctive forms of ar modern civilization. It is more recent than any of the great investigation of the property of the great investigation of the great investigation. sations which have created the distinctive forms of a modern civilization. It is more recent than any of the great innovations of thought which now of the great innovations of thought which now of the markind. The great and good fathers of the markind. The great and good fathers are peablic unquestionably entertained anti-slavery mainents or predilections, and the flippant Abolicust thinks he has silenced us forever by quoting and Hamilton and Franklin. And in the feartful troubles which may come also upon your father awas partly derived from the radical influence the French revolution, the mad frenzies of which as understanding the prevailing sentiment of the prevailing sentiment of the prevailing sentiment of the prevailing sentiment of the reduction to the prevailing sentiment of the requal. They are born unequal in physical and ental endowments, and no possible circumstances

we believe that men are created neither free at. They are born unequal in physical and endowments, and no possible circumstances ture could ever raise the negro race to any se equality with the whites. Man is born deant, and the very first step in civilization was man to enslave another. A state of slavery n a disciplinary ordeal to every people who ever developed beyond the savage condition, who cannot be reduced to bondage, like the ican Indian, perish in their isolated and defiant ism. Freedom is the last result, the crowning of the long and difficult evolution of human Those who say that the French, the Ital as or the Prussians are not yet fit for freedom, and e still unable to appreciate the blessings of consti-tional liberty, would thrust the splendid privilege of

Saxon superiority upon the semi-barbarous! What folly, what madness! has no "inalienable rights"—not even those Man has no "inalienable rights"—not even those ("life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We anticipate no terminus to the institution of larery.

The doctrine that there exists an "irrepressible balliet" between free labor and slave labor is as also as it is mischievous. Their true relation is one of the middle of the second of t

the autiful interchange and eternal harmony. *

The only "irrepressible conflict" is between proving and anti-slavery opinion. Here, indeed, colson may be inconceivably disastrous, and fanaticism by thrust her sickle into the harvest of death. The reslavery sentiment is unconquerable. It will be applied and were supplied to the proving and were supplied to the proving the pro and more suspicious of encroachment and jeal-of its rights. It will submit to no restriction, scouts the possibility of any "ultimate extine-"Nothing will satisfy us but a radical change tion." Nothing will satisfy us but a radical change of opinion, or at least of political action, on the subject of slavery throughout the Northern States. The relation of master and slave must be recognized as right and just, as national and perpetual.

When a Northern Confederacy can no longer, like a vampyre, suck the blood of the sleeping and compliant South; when agrarianism, and atheism, and lanaticism, and socialism, do their perfect work in a crowded and crowding population, will not the dark enigmas of free-labor civilization press heavily upon it, and the dread images evoked by the prophetic

ignas of free-lator civilization press bearing ap-and the dread images evoked by the prophetic isdom of Macaulay arise indeed—taxation, monop-y, oppression, misery of the masses, revolution, anding armies, despotism, &c.? It may yet deserve the strange epitaph written for this nation by Elwood Here lie a people, who, in attempting to liberate enegro, lost their own freedom.

The fact is, the Constitution is dead, for it carried ith it the seeds of its own dissolution. The Union is achieved its mission; the last page of its history written, and it may be safely deposited in the crious archives of the past. The genius of Anglowan liberty when the conjugate of the past. consists archives of the past. The genius of Anglo-iaxon liberty, when she emigrated to these shores, one twins in her bosom, and not a single birth. The forthern race, bold, hardy, intelligent, proud and rec, will receive jato its embrace the heterogeneous seam of European civilization, and mold it to its was shape, and prepare it for its own destiny. The couthern people are brave, courteous, credulous and odd masters, to whose strong and reprepays hands

between us as to the fanaticism and tyranny of the North, no difference as to the wrongs and injuries of the South. Some of us would give the North a last chance to abandon her false position, to make apologies and amend, and to secure us in the strongests bonds imaginable, against not only the encroachments, but the existence of the Republican party.**

To the professed Abolitionists, that motley crew of men who should be women, and of women who should be men; who see in Fred Douglass a hero, and in John Brown a martyr; whose venom is proportioned to their ignorance, as some animals are said to be fiercest in the dark; and who are ready to perpetrate the blackest crimes in the name of liberty, and under the garb of virtue, we have nothing to say.

The Republican party itself, the best and worst of it, we charge with having outraged our feelings, violated our rights, and initiated a policy, which, if carried out, will be destructive of our liberties. It is not an election, but a usurpation, and if we acquiesce, we are not citizens, but subjects. The forms of constitutional liberty may have been observed, but the spirit of tyrannic dictation has been the presiding genius of the day. Suppose the people of the North were to repeal their obmoxious laws, to confirm and abide by the decision of the Supreme Court, to divide the Territories in an equitable manner, and to recognize the equality as well as the Union of the States, what and where would the Republican party be? Dissipated into thin nir, dissolved like an empty pageant, not leaving a trace behind. With the Republican party, therefore, as it exists at this hour, we have no parley. If it questions us, we have no repell but the words of the gallant Georgian, "Ar-

our defence, we have no language which can truly express the gratitude of our hearts. Generous and our defence, we have no language which can truly express the gratitude of our hearts. Generous and faithful spirits! Stand bravely a little longer in the imminent deadly breach, which is yawning between the North and the South, and stay, if it vet be possible, the bloody hand of fanaticism. Raise your eloquent voices once more for equality and fraternisty, for justice and union! If it prove in vain, as, alas! it will, keep firm at least to your principles and your faith; work without ceasing as a leaven of good in your infatuated communities; infuse into the context of the same field, with different weapons, they fought the common foe. they force us some chivalric cloment, worthy of yourselves and of us, which, if the worst comes, shall
mitigate the horrors of war, and hasten the returning blessings of peace. When we think of you in
the future, we will forget the violence of individuals
and the disloyalty of State governments; we will
forget the calumnies of Sumner, and Phillips, and
Ciddings, the blasphemies of Emerson, and Cheever. torget the calumnies of Sumner, and Phillips, and Giddings, the blasphemies of Emerson, and Cheever, and Beecher, and the vile stings and insults of the aiders and abettors of thieves and assassins; we will willingly forget them all, and entwine you towlood.

Let us act calmly, wisely, bravely. Let us take upon it. It rected to and ro like a save-sip in a counsel of our duty and our honor, and not of our duty and our fears. Let us invoke the guardian spirit of ancestral virtue, and the blessing of Abnighty proval, such as but few, probably, in this audience will reccho. It is proper, therefore, that I should pause, and give a brief reason for my opinions. Our all and national independence, to be an age too soon stairical neighbor says the millennium is near at hand al and national independence, to be an age too soon than a moment too late. If we succeed in establishing, as we shall, a vast, opulent, happy and glorious slaveholding Republic, throughout tropical America, future generations will arise, and call us blessed! But if it be possible, in the mysterious providence of

WILLIAM H. HOLCOMBE. Waterproof, Tensas Parish, La.

fix was an era of the deadening of the conscience, on the subject of freedom. Church and State alike of any race but the African, whom we hold in such space and prepare it for its own destiny. The southern people are brave, courteous, credulous and fell into the slumber. Political and religious compromises became the order of the day. The sentiment of the fathers was against slavery. But sentiment of the fathers was against slavery. But sentiment of the fathers was against slavery. But sentiment can do nothing against slavery in which they were held by the came to endure, to pity, to embrace the unclean thing, and from Calhoun to Webster, fell down and worshipped the abominable idel their pious fathers to represent this question as one of secsion or submission. The word submission, in the same of political degradation, does not exist in the Southers vocabulary. There is no man in the South so stupid, so cowardly, so base, as to be willing to like in the Union as it is. There is no difference

we have no parley. If it questions us, we have no reply but the words of the gallant Georgian, "Argument is exhausted, we stand to our arms!" the great inspiration moved on, through them, in spite of them. New measures were required by the progress of the sentiment. The conscience grow-To the conservative men of the North, who sacrificed their time, treasure, interest and popularity in our behalf, and who have proffered their blood in more than this. Led by his love of free speech, he permitted some of his leading associates to burden

hand, "When preachers tell us all they think."

I have not shunned to declare to you the whol future generations will arise, and call us blessed!
But if it be possible, in the mysterious providence of God, that we should fail and perish in our sublime attempt, let it come! Our souls may rebel against the inscrutable degree of such a destiny, but we will not swerve a line from the luminous path of duty. With our hands upon our hearts, we will unitedly exclaim, "Let it come!" The sons and daughters of the South are ready for the sacrifice. We endorse the noble sentiment of Robert Hall, that has already lived too long who has survived the liberties of his country!

WILLIAM H. HOLCOMBE. counsel of God on the highest of our duties. I shall and say, that he who apologizes for such an act de files his sacerdotal garments, and is become a com-

William H. Holcombe.
Waterproof, Tensas Parish, La.

Scrift in 115.

The anti-slavery struggle.

Extracts from a very eloquent and able Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered in the Harvard Street M. E. Church, Cambridge, Sunday evening, Nov. 11, 1860, by Rev. Gilbert Haver, Editor of Zion's Heruld:—
A great calm follows a great storm. The children of the revolutionary parents were feeble in principle, low in moral tone. They were tired of great ideas and great deeds. The overstrained nature sprang back to the narrower range which men naturally prefer. The leading men of that age, men who have just left us, were far below their fathers in greatness of nature, and will be incalculably beneath them in greatness of fame. Clay, Calboun, Adams, Webster and Jackson, its five representative men, present to the historian no such lofty traits of character or service as shine in the names of five representatives of the preceding era, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Franklin.

John Quincy Adams alone of his peers held forth the light that glowed in his youth. But not he, till he had descended from the presidential throne into the vale of age and comparative political obscurity teaching us, that he cother hand, I see how Victor Hugo and the other hand, I see how Victor Hugo and the other hand, I see how Victor Hugo and the other great and pure patriots of Europee can find no words to express their admiration of the deed and its doer. Struggling in chains of desponism at home, they know how to appreciate the intense humanity of one, who strove not to save himself, who strove not to save himself, and pure patriots of each grain at home, they know how to appreciate the intense humanity of one, who strove not to save himself, and its deep content the intense humanity of one, who strove not to save himself, and its deep content the same days of the preciate patriot, Algernon Sydney, which might have been properly emblazoned, with Virginia's motto, on John Brown's bankened with Virginia's motto, on John Brown's bankened with

the light that glowed in his youth. But not he, till he had descended from the presidential throne into the vale of age and comparative political obscurity. Hardly a word of his can be quoted before his seventieth year, that has the ringing sound of liberty. How different from the young John Adams in the mass meetings of Boston, the Provincial Congress and Independence Hall! Fortunate was he that those last few years and that congressional opportunity were given him.

It was an era of the deadening of the conscience, of the subject of freedom. Church and State alike fell into the slumber. Political and religious com-

leaders, have been prompted either by an unwise desire to commend the anti-slavery chalice to the lips of slaveholders, by removing some of the bitter but essential ingredients that strengthen the potion, or else by the temptations of ambition,—

"That last infirmity of noble minds."

In either case, they will yet be regretted more than In either case, they will yet be regretted more man any other of their utterances.

If this be called fanaticism, I am content to bear the imputation. I am not alone in this State, how-ever it may be elsewhere, if the late election truly expresses the sentiment of the people. The elec-tion to the Governorship, by the largest vote any candidate ever received, of the man, who, more than all others, labored to save him from that "just" death, who publicly endorsed his character, if not the abstract rightfulness of the attempt, such an ele-vation of his best friend to our best office is a strong evidence, that our compace serves and compace that vation of his best friend to our best office is a strong evidence that our common sense and common humanity are getting the better of our fears and prejudices. The hated Mordecai already descends, here, from the gallows of public condemnation on which the Haman of a subtle pro-slaveryism had hung him, and rides through our streets in the royal constant of accounts of executive saversignty, as the man whom hung him, and rides through our streets in the royal apparel of executive sovereignty, as the man whom the people delighteth to honor. As if to show that this remarkable act of the people of Massachusetts was not the blind following of blind political leaders, but a silent yet real voice of approval, her favorite lyric poet comes forth, and places a garland of exquisite beauty and perfume on the grave of the hero. Under the influence of his religious training, the Quaker Whittier cast upon his coffin a hastily gathered wreath of bitter herbs. But true also to the fundamental principles of his faith, through the influences of the events and reflections of the past year, he has discovered the "Inner Light" of superior truth, and with characteristic frankness has published the revelations of that Light. A late poem, written on the liberation of Italy, by

I know the pent fire heaves the crust, That sultry skies the bolt will form To smite them clear; that nature must The balance of her powers adjust, Though with the earthquake and the storm.

And who am I whose prayers would stay The solemn recompense of time, And lengthen Slavery's evil day That outraged Justice may not lay Its hand upon the sword of crime!

God reigns, and let the earth rejoice!

I bow before His sterner plan;

Dumb are the organs of my choice;

He speaks in battle's stormy voice,

His praise is in the wrath of man!"

peaceful course will not be instantly answered in a similar spirit. It may at first, it undoubtedly will, intensify the rage that already burns in their breasts, seven-fold hotter than it did aforetime. This rages and fear will gnash upon us with its teeth, will seek to frighten us, by financial crises and threats of secession, into submission. Let us not be alarmed. Let but Wall street look on and hold on, calm and cool, as Menelaus did when Proteus sought to elude him by assuming terrific shapes and making beastly noises, and the monster now, as then, will become tame and humble. Our greatest danger is in the cowardice of the moneyed power. The Church is getting ready to do her part, Politics is doing hers, and now the third of our social forces must do hers. If she fails, if she whines and grows pallid, and begs her dear slaveholding brethren to desist, and promises Northern repentance and its meet works, in making compromises.

and now the third of our social forces must do hers. If she fails, if she whines and grows pallid, and begs her dear slaveholding brethren to desist, and promises Northern repentance and its meet works, she will only encourage them in their course. She can never change the course of the Republic. Freedom is more than trade, liberty than wealth. Our fathers have said so twice. We shall not fail to repeat the word, if it must be spoken.

The poor slave will also burn in the hot breath of this fiery furnace. The master fears his slave more than he hates the North. He will feel the scourge of that fear. It is one of the necessities of tyrants that they can preserve their power, and even their life, only by the frequent deaths of their enslaved subjects. Sicilian prisons, Neapolitan dungeons, Roman inquisitions, everywhere, every when, has triumphant sin taught us that this necessity is laid upon it. So it is now where this worst of sins holds completest sway. No dungeon of Venice or Rome or Naples ever vied with Carolina prisons or Alabama plantations in the excruciating cruelty which the helpless victims of their fear and hate receive at their hands. When the secrets of this prison-house shall be revealed, you will cease to wonder at the tortures of Messina and Palermo. No woman suffered there, only a few score of men. Here, tenderest women suffer such cruelty daily as hard-hearted heathen Rome, the most cruel of the ancient nations, would have shrunk from inflicting. Read Ohmstead's late. Tour Through the Back Country, and you will find incidents of these tortures, in flicted so coolly and carelessly, as show them to be a common matter of daily and indifferent outrage. But he never saw the fierce blood-hounds tearing in pieces the tender flesh of fainting women. He never saw, as a friend of mine did, himself once a slaveholder, a frantic mother tora from a human such as the proposed to the such as a friend of mine did, himself once a slaveholder, a frantic mother tora from a human such as a friend of mine did, hi as a fracted of mine did, maself once a slaveholder, a frantic mother torn from a nursing babe, less than a year old, and dragged, shricking down the public street of a Missouri village, by men who bore Christian names, and a white skin, and were, not unlikely, born in Puritan New England of pious

and the longer we dwell on the dreadful theme, the longer we seem to wish to dwell. It has an awful fascination about it, like the hungry, basilisk gaze of the anaconda. "It holds us with its glittering eye," and we only escape by a strong effort of the will. We emerge from the dungeon so full of

and the longer we dwell on the dreadful theme, the longer we seem to wish to dwell. It has an awful fascination about it, like the hungry, basilisk gaze of the anaconda. "It holds us with its glittering eye," and we only escape by a strong effort of the will. We emerge from the dungeon so full of "Horrid shapes and shrisks, and sights unhely," "Horrid shapes and shrisks, and sights unhely," and breathe the upper air of liberty, as an angel might feel who had escaped from Pandemonium revelry and outrage into the pure society of the blessed. Alas, unlike the angel, we do not leave only sinners and damned spirits behind us, rioting in their willing wickedness, but pure and lovely soals,—pure as the spirits of the just made perfect, lovely as their angels, who do always behold the face of their Father which is in heaven,—these we leave behind, suffering such shame, such sorrow, such anguish of body and of soal, as only God can feel, only He can relieve, only He can avenge.

THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEXICO.

The following is the concluding portion of a very able and tersely written communication which ap-peared in the Boston Atlas and Bee a few days since :—

A proposition to admit New Mexico as a free or slave State, slavery not having been already prohibited by act of Congress while it was a territory, is in direct conflict with our declared principles. At Philadelphia, in 1836, it was declared by the Republicans to be both "the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the conflict these transfer. congress to probable in the right and the daty of congress to probable in the territories, those twin relies of barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery." The Chicago Convention affirmed the same principle as to "all the territory of the United States." Mr. Lincoln at Freeport, in reply to Mr. Douglas's question,—"I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prachibit slavare in the territories of question,—"I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south, of the Missouri Compronise line," answered, "I am imbiedly, if not expressly pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories." Now, in all these declarations of online where is there any experi declarations of opinion, where is there any exception of New Mexico? None, whatever. No dele-

frankness has published the revelations of that Light. A late poem, written on the liberation of Italy, by its own confession, covers the whole ground of the present controversy. The laurel which he places on Garibaldi's brow, he hangs alike on John Brown's tomb. Hear the sentiment of almost every Christian in these true and tender and solemn words:—

"I dreamed of Freedom slowly gained By Martyr meckness, patience, faith; And, lo! an athlete, grimly stained, With corded muscles battle-strained, Ebuting it from the field of death?

I know the pent fire heaves the crust, That sultry skies the bolt will form

Mexico; but if it fails to do so because our opponents are in a majority, then it is our duty to resist its amenistic in a majority, then it is our duty to resist its affusion of as a slave State. If not, why will we defeat Eli Thayer? Why did Mr. Sumner make those elaborate and most able speeches at Fitchburg and Worcester to maintain the integrity of our cause? And how does Mr. Adams now differ from Mr. Thayer? In both instances, as Mr. Sumner said of Mr. Thayer? In both instances, as Mr. Sumner said of Mr. Thayer? In both instances, as Mr. Sumner which is a mistake over which History will drop a tear.

There are those, we know, who approve of the position of Mr. Addms. In a mistake over which History will drop a tear.

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There are those, we know, and Courier have given him friendly recognition. There may be timed.

Some men without convictions may rejoice, f it. Some men without convictions may rejoice, for it leaves them free to barter away our cause, no breakwater, as they think, being left to resist the swell of a reaction. But from the West, from the Republicans who have grown up under the teachings of Abraham Lincoln, comes a different voice. They tell us that they made more votes in Egypt by the odious slave code of New Mexico than all other reasons, and they stand amazed at Mr. Adams's position.

God reigns, and let the earth rejoice!

I bow before His sterner plan;
Dumb are the organs of my choice;
He speaks in battle's stormy voice,
His praise is in the wrath of man!"

It is said by a Washington correspondent of the Traveller, that business men have written to Mr. Adams, imploring him to do something to assuage the storm. It may be so; but Mr. Adams should uphold the courage of such. He can see lights they cannot see, and hear voices they cannot hear. From the serene altitudes of history and philosophy, he similar spirit. It may at first, it undoubtedly will.

The following protest was written by a citizen of Milford to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Representative in Congress from this District, and signed by about a dozen other persons, who happened to come in contact with it before it was transmitted to Washington. Had it been circulated for signatures among the Republicans of the District, it is probable that it would have been extensively signed:—

To the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Representation for the Third Congressional District of Masse chusetts:

Many of us who voted for you in the last election, myself especially, had much confidence in the antislavery sentiment of your convictions. We remembered that you had never repudiated the Buffalo Platform upon which you stood in 1848; that you was the personal friend of our almost idolized Sumner—and we remembered your ancestry. We can understand, even if we will not be comforted, the matter of Burlingame's defeat; and since the Ninth Congressional District had told the Hon. Eli Thayer, "No! no! we do not want your 'Squatter Sovereignty' in any shape," we had supposed that all was well. But we are disappointed! We had beguin to take pride in Massachusetts; she has never been so grandly represented in the Senate as since Sumner and Wilson—the scholar and mechanic—types of her learning and her industry, have been chosen; and in John A. Andrew we have, at last, secured the philanthropist Governor.

I do not know the opinions of the leaders in this District; they may express themselves with greater contrict but the depot have a heavent that each in the contrict that the depot have a heavent that each is the contrict that the depot have a heavent that each is the contrict that the contrict that the depot have a heavent that each is the contrict that the contrict the contrict that the contrict that the contrict that the contrict Many of us who voted for you in the last election,

District; they may express themselves with greater caution; but they do not have a party that can be caucussed into the support of a man who is not sound upon the idea of "No more Slave Territory."
We are ready for just one compromise, viz.:
Massachusetts to contribute two millions of dollars

to give to the Legislatures of the Cotton States a good common school education. Millions for Edu-cation, but not one inch to Slavery, is our word.— Milford (Mass.) Chronicle.

THE ADAMS COMPROMISE.

We think it safe to say, that the course of no man, in the present Congress, has so much surprised the whole country, and especially New England, as that of Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts. Judging him by his past record, and by the traditionary devotion to liberty which is his inheritance, not a man in Congress, from any section, but would have been expected to yield a vital point of the Republican plat-form before him. And yet, he was the first man to propose a compromise, which either meant a fraud upon the South, or a surrender of an immense territory to slavery. This is just what the proposition to admit New Mexico and Arizona as a State, means. It either means to give up all our South-western territory, both present and prospective, to slavery, or it means to hold out a deceptive lure, which will be the is either a downright betrayal of freedom, or it is a downright fraud. In either case, it is unworthy of an Adams, or of an honest Republican.—Concord (N. H.) Democrat.

SOUTH CAROLINA --- HER STRENGTH AND HER WEAKNESS.

We are not of those who "calculate the value of the Union." It has a measure of value, in our esti-mation, totally unapproachable by any figures of dollars and cents; but when a portion of it seems disposed to go off, to leave the shelter and protection of the stars and stripes, and set up for itself, we have a right to calculate its value. In the matter of paya right to calculate as value. In the matter of pay-ing their share of the family expenses, the cotton States have been sadly deficient, but yet we never should complain of that deficiency, nor seek for a remedy, so long as all live together under one roof. Certainly is is not convenient, but it is no crime to be poor; but then it is not honest for those who pay but a third part of what it costs to support them, to pretend that they have all the wealth, pay all the bills, and threaten to break up the establishment, un-less they can manage it exactly in their own way. less they can manage it exactly in their own way.

We hope that some man of common sense may yet
turn up in these cotton States, with boldness enough
to cure them of their madness—to prevent them, in
short, from imitating South Carolina.

That State, so far as she has the power, has dissolved her connection with the Union, and set up for
homel.

To hear the grandilounent boastings of

That State, so far as she has the power, has dissolved her connection with the Union, and set up for herself. To hear the grandiloquent boastings of some of her citizens on this event, a stranger to her position and her weakness would be led to conclude that she had escaped from some unbearable oppression, and that, rich in everything that goes to make a State, she is now on the high road to that prosperity she has so long been seeking in vain. "What constitutes a State?" "Men, high-minded men." And what is her strength in this respect? In 1856 she had (estimated) a population of 705,000, of which four-sevenths were slaves (not much of "high-minded men." there), and one-seventh, at least, but a slight remove from paupers; leaving two-sevenths of the whole population to furnish the State with "high-minded men." And how are such men to be made? By education mainly. In 1852 the appropriation of the State for this purpose was the paltry sum of \$36,000. In 1856 one-half of her 78,000 children had no schools provided for them, and 20,000 of her adult whites could neither read nor write. Not much doing, we should say, to form the necessary compliment of "high-minded men." Coming down to physical means, we find her carrying a heavy public debt for so small a State, (\$3,145,000 in 1850); with some ten millions of paper currency based on \$1,200,000 of gold; with no internal resources but direct taxation—her own citizens having no money to lead; and without the shadow of credit sources but direct taxation—her own citizens having no money to lend; and without the shadow of credit no money to lend; and without the shadow of credit abroad; with a slave population of 400,000, a pauper population of 100,000, and a self-supporting population of 200,000. In the late prosperous years for her staple, she has been able to consume of foreign importations about \$83,000,000 annually, and if that consuming power still exists, she might collect a revenue on imports of six or seven hundred thousand dollars, which, added to her present direct tax of six hundred thousand dollars, would give her a total income of twelve to thirteen hundred thousand dollars; or, if she establishes free trade, she might possibly raise the whole amount by direct taxes. Out of these means her wise men propose to support an army of 10,000 men at a cost of Eight MILLIONS annually, to buy or build a marine of sufficient annually, to buy or build a marine of sufficient strength and numbers to guard two hundred miles of sea coast, which is full of harbors and inlets; to send embassadors to foreign States, and to do all that an independent nation can and ought to do l Hitherto she has lived on credit—always in debt

for next year's crop—now she proposes to pay up and buy for eash; or whether she proposes to or not, she will have to buy for eash, for nobody will sell to her

will have to buy for eash, for nobody will sell to her people on credit.

She has two elements of strength—inordinate SELF-ESTEEM, on which she is swelling up like the fabled frog, and an overweening PRIDE, which closes her eyes to danger. On the other hand, she has an inflammable population of 400,000 people, held in the most abject bondage, who may strike out blindly for liberty at any time, requiring care and watching all the time, and at every point. She has 100,000 poor whites, now excited to phrensy in the cause of independence, because they hope to reap advantage from it, who will be very apt to take a lurch the other way, and become a them in her side, when they find that hope is not to be realized. She holds out no encouragement to immigrants who might out no encouragement to immigrants who m strengthen her weakness; on the contrary, she ste

ly rejects them-forbids their landing on her shores Her commercial marine is next to nothing. The whole production of her labor and capital is less than \$75 a head to her whole population, and to crown the whole, she has not a man within her borders—at least no one has yet shown himself—who has common sense enough to be aware of all these elements of weakness. If any evidence were wanted that "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," we have it in abundance in the recent movements of the people of this weak and poor State; flouting their emblem of pride and poverty, the worthless palmetto, in the face of the Union, and threatening us with war if we dare attempt to keep If any evidence were wanted tha our own property, or to enforce the laws which they have helped to make. To intelligent foreigners, the pompous declarations of these South Carolina dignitaries must appear supremely ridiculous, and if we had a President of the United States of ordinary nau a rresident of the United States of ordinary courage and ability, and true to his trust, they would soon become so at home soon become so at home, or rather they would never have found utterance. After all, however, the peo-ple of South Carolina are not so much to blame; their ignorance has been imposed upon, their cupid-ity excited, their self-esteem puffed out, their pride aroused by the frauds, falsehoods and perversions of men-bankrupts in fortune, integrity and patriotism—to whom any change promises im-ment, and who, by their own confession, have thirty years employed in the villanous work before they could bring the people to the sticking point. We speak of South Carolina, therefore, more in soran in anger; for whatever may be the effect of her movements upon the other States of th Union, on herself it can only be bad, and constantly proving worse. If she succeeds in dragging othe States with her into the slough of secession, it wi not help her condition; if she fails in that, and has to stand alone, it will be so far better that she will the sooner see the folly of it, and banish from her sels the traitors who have misled her.—Boston

SENATOR SEWARD ON THE CRISIS.

The following is the conclusion of Mr. Seward's speech, delivered in the U.S. Senate on the 12th inst.

Here I might close my plea for the American Union; but it is necessary, if not to exhaust the argument, at least to exhibit the whole case. The disunionists, consciously unable to stand on their mere disappointment in the recent election, have attempted to enlarge their ground. More than years there has existed a considerable—though erctofore a formidable-mass of citizens certain States situate near or around the delta of the Mississippi, who believe that the Union is less conducive to the welfare and greatness of those States than a smaller confederacy, embracing only slave States, would be. This class has availed itself of the discontents resulting from the election to put into operation the machinery of dissolution long ago prepared, and waiting only for occasion.

In other States, there is a soreness because of the

want of sympathy in the free States with the efforts of slaveholders for the recapture of fugitives from service. In all the slave States there is a restiveness resulting from the resistance which has been so determinedly made within the last few years, in the free States, to the extension of slavery in the com-Territories of the United States The Re ican party, which cast its votes for the success-residential candidate on the ground of that policy, has been allowed, practically, no representa-tion, no utterance by speech or through the press, in the slave States; while its policy, principles, and sentiments, and even its temper, have been so mis-sentiments, and even its temper, have been so mis-represented as to excite apprehensions that it denies important constitutional obligations, and aims even at interference with slavery and its overthrow by State authorities or intervention of the Federal

Considerable masses, even in the free States, in terested in the success of these misrepresentations as a means of partisan strategy, have lent their sympathy to the party claiming to be aggrieved. While the result of the election brings the Republican thy to the party claiming to be aggrieved. While result of the election brings the Republican party necessarily into the foreground in resisting disunion, the prejudices against them which I have described have deprived them of the cooperation of issue between the Republican party and the dis-unionists, although it involves the direct national calamities, the result might be doubtful; for the Reublican party is weak, in a large part of the Union. But on a direct issue, with all who cherish the Union on one side, and all who desire its dissolution by force on the other, the verdict would be prompt almost unanimous. I desire thus to simplify issue, and for that purpose to separate from it all collateral questions, and relieve it of all partisan passions and prejudices.

I consider the idea of the withdrawal of the Gulf

States, and their permanent reorganization with or without others in a distinct Confederacy as a means of advantage to themselves, so certainly un-wise and so obviously impossible of execution, when the purpose is understood, that I dismiss it with the on I have already incidentally bestowed upon it. The case is different, however, in regard to the

other subjects which I have

tion, before the Senate.

Beyond a doubt, Union is vitally important to the just as important to the whole people. Republicansm and Union are, therefore, not convertible terms thing else is and ought to be-Republicanism, De ery other political name and thing—all nate; and they ought to disappear in the acy, every other presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so; it should be so if the So far as question were sure to be tried, as it ought only to be etermined, by the peaceful ordeal of the ballot. It shall be so all the more since there is, on the one side, preparedness to refer it to the arbitrament of

I have such faith in this republican system of ours that there is no political good which I desire that I am not content to seek through its peaceful forms of administration, without invoking revolutionary ac-tion. If others shall invoke that form of action to oppose and overthrow Government, they shall not, so far as it depends on me, have the excuse that I obstinately left myself to be misunderstood. In , I can afford to meet prejudice with a ciliation, exaction with concessions which surrender no principle, and violence with the right hand of

Peace.

Therefore, sir, so far as the abstract question whether, by the Constitution of the United States whether, by the Constitution of the laws of a bondsman, who is made such by the laws of a State, is still a man or only property, I answer, that within that State, its laws on that subject are supreme; that when he has escaped from that State nto another, the Constitution regards him as a bondsman who may not, by any law or regulation that State, be discharged from his service, but shall be delivered up, on claim, to the party to whom his

you to modify the acts of Congress on that subject, so as not to oblige private persons to assist in their execution, and to protect freemen from being, by abuse of the laws, carried into slavery, I agree that all laws of the States, whether free States or slave States, which relate to this class of persons, or any others recently coming from or resident in other States, and which laws contravene the Constitution of the United States, or any law of Congress passed in conformity thereto, ought to be

Secondly-Experience in public affairs has confirmed my opinion, that domestic slavery, existing in any State, is wisely left by the Constitution of the United States exclusively to the care, manage-ment, and disposition of that State; and if it were in my power, I would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position needs so strong a remedy, I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or inter-

fere with slavery in any St Thirdly-While I think that Congress has ex clusive and sovereign authority to legislate on all subjects whatever in the common Territories of the United States, and while I certainly shall never, directly or indirectly, give my vote to establish or sanction slavery in such Territories, or anywhere else in the world, yet the question, what constitu-tional laws shall at any time be passed, in regard to the Territories, is, like every other question, to be determined on practical grounds. I voted for en-abling acts in the cases of Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas, without being able to secure in them such provisions as I would have preferred; and yet I yoted wiselv.

circumstances, a happy and satisfactory solution of the difficulties in the remaining Territories would be obtained by similar laws, providing for their organi-zation, if such organization were otherwise practica-ble. If, therefore, Kansas were admitted as a State, under the Wyandotte Constitution, as I think she

under the Wyandotte Constitution, as I think she ought to be, and if the organic laws of all the other Territories could be repealed, I could vote to author-ize the organization and admission of two new States which should include them, reserving the right to effect sub-divisions of them whenever necessary into several convenient States; but I do not find

that such reservation could be constitutionally made.
Without them, the ulterior embarrassments which
would result from the hasty incorporation of States of such vast extent and various interests and char-acter, would outweigh all the immediate advantages But if the measure were pra of such a measure. But if the measure were ticable, I should prefer a different course, n when the eccentric movements of secession and dis-union shall have ended, in whatever form that end may come, and the angry excitements of the h shall have subsided, and calmness once more s have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, then, and not until then—one, two, or three years hence—I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people, to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any, and what, amendments of the organic national law

A Republican now-as I have heretofore been a member of other parties existing in my day—I nevertheless hold and cherish, as I have always done, the principle that this Government exists in its present form only by the consent of the governed, and that it is as necessary as it is wise to resort to the people for revisions of the organic law when the troubles and dangers of the State certainly tranat form only by the consent of the governed, troubles and dangers of the State certainly transcend the powers delegated by it to the public

Nor ought the suggestion to excite surprise. Government in any form is a machine; this is the most complex one that the mind of man has ever inented or the hand of man has ever framed. Per fect as it is, it ought to be expected that it will, at least as often as once in a century, require some modification to adapt it to the changes of society

and alterations of empire.

Fourthly—I hold myself ready now, as always heretofore, to vote for any properly-guarded laws which shall be deemed necessary to prevent mutual invasions of States by citizens of other States, and

nivasions of States by chizens of other States, and punish those who shall aid and abet them. Fifthly—Notwithstanding the arguments of the gallant Senator from Oregon, (Gen. Lane,) I re-main of the opinion that physical bonds, such as highways, railroads, rivers, and canals, are vastly re powerful for holding civil communities togethe than any mere covenants, though written on ment or engraved upon iron. I remain, th constant to my purpose to secure, if possible, the construction of two Pacific railways, one of which shall connect the ports around the mouths of the sippi, and the other the towns on the Missouri and the Lakes, with the harbors on our

If, in the expression of these views, I have not ers, they will do me the justice to believe that I am as far from having suggested what in many respects would have been in harmony with cherished convictions of my own. I learned early from Jefferson, that in political affairs we cannot always do what seems to us absolutely best. Those with whom we must necessarily act, entertaining different views, have the power and the right of carrying them into practice. We must be content to lead when we can, practice. We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead; and if we cannot at any time do for our country all the good that we would wish, we must be satisfied with doing for her all the good that we can.

Having submitted my own opinions on this great crisis, it remains only to say that I shall cheerfully lend to the Government my best support in what-ever prudent, yet energetic efforts it shall make to reserve the public peace, and to maintain and preserve the Union; advising, only, that it practice as far as possible the utmost moderation, forbearance and conciliation.

And now, Mr. President what are the anenices of alarms, and somewhat exposed to accidents unavoidalarms, and somewhat exposed to accidents unavoidable in seasons of tempestuous passions. We already have disorder, and violence has begun. I know not to what extent it may go. Still, my faith in the Constitution and in the Union abides, because my faith in the wisdom and virtue of the American people remains unshaken. Coolness, calmness, and resolution, are elements of their character. They have been temporarily displaced; but they

are reappearing. Soon enough, I trust, it will be seen that sedition and violence are only local and temporary, and that lovalty and affection to the are the natural sentiments of the whole count Whatever dangers there shall be, there will be the determination to meet them: whatever sacrineedful for the fices, private or public, shall be needful for the Union, they will be made. I feel sure that the hour

has not come for this great Nation to fall

This people, which has been studying to become This peo etter as it has grown older verse or wicked enough to deserve so dreadful and severe a punishment as dissolution. This Union has not yet accomplished what good for mankind was harmony. On Saturday last, he made an elaborate manifestly designed by Him who appoints the seasons, and prescribes the duties of States and Empires. No. sir: if we were cast down by faction today, it would rise again and reappear in all its ma-

Woe! wee! to the man that madly lifts his hand against it. It shall continue and endure; and men, after time, shall declare that this generation which saved the Union from such sudden looked-for dangers, surpassed in magnanimity even that one which laid its foundations in the eternal principles of liberty, justice, and humanity.

MR. LINCOLN'S POSITION.

If this had not been shown by his published speeches and by the debates with Douglas, it would seem to be put at rest by the editorials of the Illinois State Journal, since secession raised its ugly head. We cut the following from the issue of December 31:-

South Carolina has, and the other cotton States are about to pass seceding resolutions, professedly because they cannot get their rights in this Union. We are told by some Southern men, and a great Northern ones, that the North has behaved so badly that the cotton States cannot live with us. Now, this is all rant. The Personal Liberty bills and the violation of the Fugitive Slave law have about as much to do with this cotton stampede as the banking laws of Canada, or the violation of a

ty ordinance of Springfield.

They make the slavery question the pretext, but not the cause for disunion. They do not want to we must leave the Union because the laws protecting sla-we can." very are not numerous enough, or strong enough, or are not faithfully enforced. They want to build up a reat Southern Confederacy, "resting," as they say, carefully considered language, carries upon its face on the solid substratum of African slavery." To nothing startling or objectionable; because it is the Southern statesmen, the picture of such a confederacy is one of beauty and grandeur. They seem to imagine that their progress is retarded by their concessions must be made to secure the desired uninection with free strip all the nations of the earth in the race of progress. Their connection with the free States alone gives them security, peace, and whatever of prosperity they enjoy. They suffer no wrongs at the hands of this Government, but do derive innumerable advantages from it. They would now destroy it, and plunge headlong into ruin. They must not be permitted to do it. Their own good their own safety—their very existence as a people, requires that they should yield a cheerful obedience

rations, does not and cannot act directly upon the States which compose the Union. It has to do with the people—with individuals. So far as suppressing insurrection, putting down domestic violence or more consequence than all the compacts and constitution. pass what disunion ordinances they please, and resolve and re-resolve to their heart's content ast the General Government, but these mani-

This seems to be clear and decisive, and we doubt not accurately represents Mr. Lincoln's as it does the Republican policy.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1860.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Delinquent subscribers for the past year,-that is from January 1, 1860, to January 1, 1861,-are respectfully requested to remember our standing Rule, by which their papers will be discontinued after Feb ruary 1, 1861, unless payment for the same be previously sent in. We shall be extremely sorry to lose a single subscriber in this manner, especially at this crisis in our national affairs; but, as our printed terms indicate that payment is to be made in advance, we are sure if, instead of rigidly exacting it, we allow (as we do) a credit of thirteen months to delinquents, they can have no cause of complaint when their papers are stopped for omitting to make settlement.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Massa-CHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at the TREMONT TEMPLE, in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, January 24th and 25th, commencing at half past 10 o'clock, A. M.

The members and friends of the Society are urgently requested to make the attendance on their part larger than ever before seen since its formation. In view of the position of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of the state of the nation, it will be the most important anniversary the Society has ever held. Troublous as is the aspect of things, it is a sure indication that the cause of impartial freedom is moving onward with ir resistible power, and that the day of jubilee is rapidly approaching, to be succeeded by universal joy, peace and prosperity. For nothing disturbs the repose leranges the business, assails the interest, dish the character, and imperils the existence of the republic, but SLAVERY. Freedom, and the love of it, and the advocacy of it, and the uncompromising sup port of it, without regard to color or race, can never work ill to whatever is just, honest, noble, humane and Christ-like. It is not the Abolitionists, who sim posed what is desired or expected by many oth-they will do me the justice to believe that I am ply espouse the cause of God's poor and needy and oppressed, that it may go well with our land, but the Southern slaveholders and slave-breeders, who traffic in human flesh and enslave even their own blood-kindred, and who hate every thing that savors of liberty. who have brought the nation into its present distracted and distressful condition; for theirs is the spirit which chooses "rather to reign in hell than serve in heaven." Come, then, friends of freedom, to the Anniversary, strong in the righteousness of your cause, serene and undaunted in spirit, and resolute in your purpose to seek the speedy removal of the cause of all our national suffering and danger!

Among the speakers expected are WILIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY. SANUEL MAY, Jr., C. C. BURLEIGH, T. W. HIGGIN SON, A. T. FOSS, Rev. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE, Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, Rev. F. FROTHINGHAM, of Maine, H. C. WRIGHT, Hon. N. H. WHITING of the Senate, Rev. Anix Ballou, Wh. Wells Brown, Dr. J. S. ROCK, F. B. SANBORN, and others.

At the opening session, Thursday morning, WM LLOYD GARRISON, T. W. HIGGINSON and Roy Jac FREEMAN CLARKE, with others, are to speak. An early and prompt attendance is earnestly requested.

In behalf of the Society,
FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

MR. SEWARD'S SPEECH

In view of his relation to the Republican party and especially of the admitted fact that he is to fill the important post of Secretary of State, under President Lincoln's administration, a good deal of anxiety has been felt, by all parties, to hear from Senator Seward This Union has try, and his method of effecting reconciliation and speech in the Senate upon the crisis, and was listened to with profound attention by a densely crowded au ditory.

jestic proportions to-morrow.

Formerly, we entertained a high opinion of the
It is the only Government that can stand here.

Statesman-like qualities of Mr. Seward, and were Formerly, we entertained a high oninion of the ready to believe, in consequence of several acts performed by him in the service of an oppressed and despised race, that he was inspired by noble sentiments, lifting him above all personal considerations: but we have been forced, within the past year, to correct that opinion, and to change that belief. His in tellectual ability is unquestionably of the first order: e writes and speaks with remarkable perspicuity, and often with great rhetorical beauty; nothing with him is hastily done; his caution is immense; he aims to be axiomatic and oracular. But it is evident that his moral nature is quite subordinate to his intellect, so as to taint his philosophy of action, and prevent his from rising to a higher level than that of an expedientist and compromiser. The key to his public life is contained in this very speech. Here it is :-

"If, in the expression of these views, I have not proposed what is desired or expected by many others, they will do me the justice to believe that I am as far from having suggested what, in many respects, would have been in harmony with cherished convictions of my own. I learned early from Jefferson that, in political affairs, we cannot always do what seems to be absolutely best. Those with whom we must necessarily not, entertaining different tice. We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead; and if we cannot at any time do for our country all the good that we would wish, we must be satisfied with doing for her all the good that

carefully considered language, carries upon its face with free communities, and that once re-om the clogs of free society, they will outcrifice of justice, is involved, a course like this is the dictate of common sense; otherwise, the state of society would be chaotic, and an efficient admini suffer no tion of public concerns impossible. But in the sen tence, "In political affairs, we cannot always do what seems to be absolutely best," there is to be found the germ of all political profligacy, and the nest-egg of all those sinful compromises which have cursed this nation since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. requires that they should yield a cheerful obedience to the laws of the Union—laws which they themselves helped to frame. Kindness to them, love for them, requires that this Government should interpose the strong arm of its power to save them from destruction, by preserving, at whatever cost or sacrifice, the integrity of this Union.

The Constitution of the United States, in its operations deep not and cannot act directly upon the strong and cannot act directly upon the strong and strong themselves and cannot act directly upon the strong themselves and cannot act directly upon the strong themselves are adopted in the rederial Constitution. There is no position in which men may place themselves, or be placed by others, where they can be selves, or be placed by others, where they can be justified, whether to reach "a consummation devoudy to be wished," or to avoid formidable danger or great suffering, in violating their consciences, or conniving at what their moral sense condemns. tegrity and straight-forward regard for the right car treason is concerned, the States are wholly State Legislatures and State Conventions that "the end sanctifies the means," or that "we cannot always do what seems to be absolutely best." becomes the doctrine of devils. Mr. Seward means against the General Government, out these mani-festos upon paper signify nothing. States cannot commit treason; but should the people, or any part of the people of South Carolina, for instance, re-is a mockery in this emergency. He is dealing, not

So now, I am well satisfied that, under existing fuse to pay revenue duties, or resist a United States reumstances, a happy and satisfactory solution of officer in the execution of the laws, then the particular the most momentum moral question ever presented to sum of all villany'-and to nothing else. Hence, he is to be set down as a fanatic, and utterly destitute of for continuing to slaveholders the inhuman privilege every feeling of patriotism! of hunting their fugitive slaves in any part of the North. Hence, he is willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that under no circumstances shall Congress have the power to abolimpartially; true, He has said, "I was an hungered, circumstances shall Congress have the power to abolimpartially; true, He has said, "I was an hungered, ish or interfere with slavery in any State. Hence, his and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave readiness to enact laws, subjecting future John Browns me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not to the punishment of death for seeking to deliver the slaves Bunker Hill fashion, and after the example of on, and ye visited me not"; applying this to the Lafayette, Kosciusko, Pulaski and De Kalb, as per- least, and most despised, and most oppressed, of all taining to our own revolutionary struggle. Yet, in the human family,—thus incornating himself in the peranother speech delivered at Madison, Wisconsin, not see of every fugitive slave within our borders; atill, is it long since, Mr. Seward solemnly declares :-

and happiness.... Whenever the Constitution of the United States requires of me that this hand shall keep down the humblest of the human race, then I will lay down er, place, position, fame, everything, rather than adopt a construction or such a rule."

What shall we think of the consistency or veracity of Mr. Seward in this matter of freedom? He knows, he concedes, in the speech we are criticising, that, under the United States Constitution, the fugitive slave is not entitled to safety or protection in any Northern State; and those who rush to the rescue of the enslaved millions at the South, as John Brown and his associates did, he is for hanging as felons under that same Constitution! It is time for him to lay down power, place and position!

Look at the present state of the country! The old Union breaking up daily, its columns falling in every lirection-four Southern States already out of it, and all the others busily and openly preparing to followthe national government paralyzed through indecisio cowardice, or perfidy-the national flag trampled upon and discarded by the traitors, and a murderous endeav or on their part, by firing heavy shot, to sink a government vessel entering the harbor of Charleston upon lawful errand, compelling her to flee in disgrace, and to avoid certain destruction-treason and traitors every where, in every slave State, in every free State, at the Seat of Government, in both houses of Congress, in the army and navy, in the Executive department, at the head of the press, audacious, defiant, diabolicalthe United States arsenals and fortifications already seized, or rapidly falling into the hands of the Southern conspirators, through the blackest perfidy-every movement contemplating the enforcement of the laws, and the protection of its property, on the part of the national government, impudently denounced by the traitors and their accomplices as "coercion," "tyranny," and "a declaration of war"-with the murderous avowal that Abraham Lincoln shall never be inaugurated President of the United States, and the unquestionable purpose of these Catilines and Arnolds to seize the Capitol, and take possession of the government by a coup d'etat, which we have long prophesied would be their last desperate effort to keep the reins of power in their own grasp, and which we have no doubt will be successful, in spite of all the precautions of Gen. Scott.

In this state of things,-when the elements are melting with fervent heat, and thunders are uttering their voices, and a great earthquake is shaking the land from centre to circumference, threatening to engulf whatever free institutions are yet visible.-Mr. Seward, with the eyes of expectant millions fastened upon him as "the pilot to weather the storm," rises in the Senate to utter well turned periods in glorification of a Union no longer in existence, and to talk of "meeting rejudice with conciliation, exaction with concession which surrenders no principle, (!) and violence with the right hand of peace"! The tiger is to be propitiated by crying "pussy cat!" and leviathan drawn out with a hook! The word "treason" or "traitors" is never once mentioned-no recital is made of any of the numberless outrages committed—no call is made upon the President to be true to his out and to meet the public exigency with all the forces at his commandno patriotic indignation flushes his cheek-but all is calm as a summer's morning, cool, compliant, unim passioned! His boldest word is, "We already have disorder, and violence is begun." How very discreet! It is a penny-whistle used to hush down a thunderstorm of the first magnitude-capping Vesuvius with a sheet of straw paper! And this is all the statesmanship of William H. Seward, in a crisis unparalleled in has come, but where is "the man"?

REASONS FOR REPEAL.

1. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, it only throws the shield of legal protection, to the extent of the use of habeas corpus and the right of jury trial, around our free colored citizens, against prowling kidnappers and slave-hunters, without denying the right of the slaveholder to his fugitive slave: but such protection is offensive to our Southern masters and overseers, and therefore it ought to be instantly withdrawn, on peril of their fierce displeasure! What right have our colored citizens to any security in their persons or domestic relations, as against any form or device of slaveholding villany ! None whatever! True, they are bona fide citizens of Massachusetts, equal with all others before the Constitution and the laws, eligible to every office there left. in the gift of the people, and required to perform all the duties and to sustain all the burdens of citizenship; nevertheless, "the hunters of men" demand that they shall not be allowed even the common right of a jury trial, in case of arrest as fugitive slaves, and that the Fugitive Slave Law shall be enforced "with alacrity" in all such cases; and their demand ought to be complied with, in the spirit of penitential recantation!

" The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, the voice of nature and of God thunders in our ear, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall DWELL WITH THEE, even among you, in that place which HE shall choose, where it liketh HIM best: THOU SHALT NOT OPPRESS HIM." True, the command of God is, "Execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day; hide the outcasts; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler; and bewray not him that wandereth." But the voice of Southern men-stealers is more potential than the voice of God, and their command to us to have no mercy on the flying fugitive, but to assist in his capture, ought to be obeyed rather than his! Especially as it will allay all agitation, and help to preserve our glorious

3. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." and caused every conscience loyal to God and humancoundrelism of the land? humanity, every dictate of reason, every precept of their Presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln. that gospel which we profess to believe?

4. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." affirms it to be among self-evident truths, that all men loss of the elective franchise, and the repudiation of are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with all chance for political elevation or emolument, on our in inalienable right to liberty; and by the Golden part. We maintain that our ground is impregna Rule it is enjoined, "Whatsoever ye would that men and our example identical with that of all those in the should do to you, do ye even so to them"; and Jesus past who refused to compromise the principles of has declared, 'With what judgment ye judge, ye righteousness to subserve even their mo

officer in the execution of the laws, then the particular men who do it have committed an overl act, and are liable to trial, conviction and punishment for their crime against the Government. And, we may add, the Federal Executive is recreant to his duty and false to his oath of office, if he fails to vindicate the dignity of the outraged law.

with a material question of dollars and cents, but with the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most momentous moral question ever presented to filled with "glittering generalities"—and the Golden Rule is an impossible rule of conduct—and Jesus meant his language to apply only to those whom he addressed; but in these times, and in this land, he world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless mensure that the most moment question ever presented to filled with "glittering generalities"—and the Golden Rule is an impossible rule of conduct—and Jesus meant his language to apply only to those whom he addressed; but in these times, and in this land, he would be a supplied of conduct—and Jesus meant his language to apply on

5. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed."

not in the constitutional bond that fugitives shall be de-"By no word, no act, no combination into which I might cater, shall any one human being of all the generations to which I belong, much less of any class of human beings of any race or kindred, be oppressed, or kept down in the least degree in their efforts to rise to a higher state of liberty and happiness. . . . Whenever the Constitution of the liberty and the property of the constitution of the liberty and the property of the liberty with death and an agreement with hell," are we not prejudices," and thereby endeavor to bring peace to our distracted country

6. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repe Certainly! True, we ought to love our neighbor as purselves, to be tender-hearted and merciful, to scorn to do a base action, to "have no tellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness"; but, in that case, how are fugitive slaves to be caught? and if they are allowed to abide among us, how can we be true to our national compact, and how can we hope to induce the South to remain in the Union ! Morality, humanity, and the "Higher Law." are very well in their place, but not in times like these. To talk of obeying God without regard to consequences, is sheer fanaticism and infidelity! It is better that a hunted slave should now and then be caught in Massachusetts, than that the Republic should be dismembered; just as it vas better, eighteen centuries ago,-as in the crucifixion of Jesus,-that one man should die, than that a whole nation should perish!

7. " The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, when any of those who have been, life-long, deprived of their natural rights-subjected to all possible outrages, insults and exposures-scourged, branded, mutilated, chained, tortured-driven to uncompensated toil by remorseless overseers-voked like beasts, and bought and sold like them in the marketat last resolve to seek freedom and safety by flight, and come to us, foot-sore and ragged, worn down by exhaustion, begging us, in the name of Heaven, and by all the claims of a common origin, to have pity upon them, and not allow their pursuers to seize them by any consent or complicity of our own, it does seem base, inhuman, cowardly and damnable to "see the anguish of their souls," and, searing our consciences as with a hot iron, and hardening our hearts like adamant, coolly to deny their prayer, and readily assist in their capture and return to the horrible doom from which they fled, at the bidding of miscreants impiously claiming to be their rightful owners, and for the sake of continuing in alliance with them; but we must be "law-abiding," remember the bargain we have made, stick to our constitutional agreement, do fealty to the devil as men of honor, make even more fiendish concessions rather than re tract anything,-because, if we do not thus act and conspire, "our glorious Union" will certainly be dis solved; and its perpetuation is a thousand times more important to public tranquillity and the general prosperity, than loyalty to an upright conscience, reverence for the eternal law of justice, fidelity to the cause of bleeding humanity, and obedience to God! Wherefore-the Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed !

GURMONS ON THE TIMES.

THE CAUSE AND THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE ELEC-TION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: a Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered in the Harvard-Street M. E. Church. Cambridge, Sunday evening, Nov. 11, 1860. By Rev. Gilbert Haven. Boston: sold by J. P. Magee, 5 Cornhill.

We have never been backward in acknowledging with pleasure every earnest and manly effort, on the part of the pulpit, to bring the hideous slave system to the dust. It is in this light we regard this Sermon. Its rhetoric is glowing with genuine feeling, and its boldness of utterance remarkable for one occupying such a relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church as Mr. Haven does. That relation, as a matter of antislavery consistency, we think, would be "more honored in the breach than in the observance," on his part-at least, until that Church cease to welcome slaveholders to its communion-table as true Methodists, and "brethren and sisters in the Lord," The extracts we have made from this discourse, on our first page, will enable the reader to judge of its style and spirit throughout, and we trust will help to extend its sale and circulation.

We have a brief criticism, however, to make upon a single paragraph contained in these extracts. Referring to our early labors, and to those who were our co-laborers, Mr. Haven says :-

"Soon bitter conficts sprang up in the breasts of these roung philanthropists. The fresh-armed men began to site and devour one another, and were well-nigh consumed What those "bitter conflicts" were about or who

were justly responsible for them, the reader is left to imagine. An imputation is cast in the lump, and

Again, Mr. Haven says :-

"New measures were required by the progress of the [anti-slavery] sentiment. The conscience growing, demanded a chance to express itself at the ballot-box. This was resisted by Garrison."

Is this a fair statement of the case ? No-it does us great injustice. It represents us as resisting the action of a quickened conscience, zealous in the service | Christ, no class of men will receive a more territorial of the slave! This we did not and could not do. Such a conscience was all too rare for us to have a controversy with it, and should it become universal. we shall rejoice evermore. We were simply true to our own conscience, and on that score, however mistaken, deserve commendation, not censure. If Mr. Haven had stated the case truly, in this wise, we should have taken no exception to it :- The growing anti-slavery sentiment demanded a chance to express itself at the ballot-box. For a time, Mr. Garrison favored the movement, so far as causing the various candidates to be interrogated as to their views on the subject of slavery, and supporting such, without regard to party distinctions, as answered the most satisfactorily. But the time came when he was led to analyze the Constitution of the United States, and he reached the conclusion that, IN CONSEQUENCE OF 128 of its author. We quote it precisely as emphasized PRO-SLAVERY STIPULATIONS, it was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell-and, therefore, that, by an inexorable moral necessity, he could not Certainly! True, the Fugitive Slave Law has any longer, either innocently or consistently, vote shocked the civilized world by its revolting features, under it. Hence, he has ever since taken for his motto-"No Union with Slaveholders." Admitting ity to rebel against it; but is not implicit obedience to the truthfulness of his charges against the Constituenjoined by the combined oppression, ruffianism, tion, the great body of professing anti-slavery men cupidity, malevolence, phariseeism, impiety and have, nevertheless, continued to use the ballot-box, And ought not these to either as Liberty Party men, or Free Soilers, or Repear sway, to the repudiation of every principle of publicans, as in their judgment the most practical justice, every attribute of mercy, every sentiment of course, till at last they have succeeded in electing This is the exact state of the case: but as given

by Mr. Haven, it makes us the opponent of conscience, Certainly! True, the Declaration of Independence instead of being true to our own conscience, to the shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again"; but the Declaration showing that a just God has made it impossible for

such a mongrel Union to exist. "For what cone hath Christ with Belial? or what fellowship bath ligh Again, Mr. Haven is most unjust to us when

"Led by his love of free speech, he {Garrison me of his leading associates to

We deny the charge, and call for the evide None of our "leading associates" have sought to any such thing. They have advocated the ause with all fidelity upon its own merits, and h not sought to burden it with any extran Nor is it for us to "permit" them to do e that, as one in authority: they are of age, and per for themselves. When Mr. Haven will point of or themselves.

'gross infidelities and social absurdities" to which he efers, we will give them our gravest consider Till then, the imputation is a stab in the dark.

Finally, referring to us personally, Mr. Ha-"Would that, in his spinere of effort, and to if of his large abustics and innuence, he had from becoming licentionaness! Would th berforce, had kept his heart sweet with through the whole of this great war!

How are such disparaging accusations and heiding comparisons to be met? Where all is vague, not of course is tangible. In what does one "licentian ness" consist? Who have advocated a more in adherence to principle, or a more unco gard for the laws and commands of God the selves? When or where have we played to loose with the claims of humanity or the demands instice? When has ours been a whiffling Or when have we been beguiled from the path of duty, or allowed others to stray therein, on the ground of expediency or worldly policy? Impeached in this sweeping manner, we have a right to call for explicit nswers to these questions.

As for our "prayer and piety," we have nothing say. The priestly hand is seen in the thrust a us under cover of Wilberforce. With all his 'prayer and piety," Wilberforce was as him ounced and calumniated as we have been for i devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause in England; and possibly, at the end of half a century, our religious character will be in better repute than it now is

THE "GOODLY HERITAGE." A Sermon delieon Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 29, 1860, in the Church of the Puritans, New York, by Rev. Theodore F. White.

The author of this Sermon is at present supplying . Cheever's pulpit, and evidently is an imitator Dr. C.'s impassioned and intense style of writing. bears a strong testimony against our antienal system of oppression, and such as give aid or countenance

It protests against any compromise being made with the enslavers of men; says if it be true that the Union can be maintained only by the dominance of the Slave Power, it were a thousand times better that the Union should be dissolved; warns the Republica party that its heart's blood is an ANTI-SLAVERY OF SCIENCE, and the moment that conscience is aliena through sinful concessions, the party is a lifeless thing and concludes with the declaration-" Politicians and representatives may quail, as they have quailed be e, and stoop to cowardly and disastrous compre mises, and cotton may rule again; but the pulse of that Northern conscience begts in the firmes at ness of health and strength. That conscience wi neither bend nor break, but will repudiate every our promise, will bring swift retribution on every publi servant who betrays his trust, and will dash in pieces any party which essays to dispute its will." This is truly and foreibly stated. This Sermon, as printed, is weakened and marre-

by an excessive use of italics, which ought to be a sparingly used as ornaments in composition

Its assertion, that "every cause must stand or fi by the verdict of the Bible," indicates a tread-mil reverence or a traditional credulity, and not close, in dependent thinking. We totally dissent from this postulate. The Bible has settled nothing in theolog cience, morality, or religion, beyond the prevai pinions of the times. "Every cause must stand a Il" by its own inherent character or proper whatever may be the verdict of the Bible

Neither human rights nor human obligations nate with or depend upon anything in the Bible. say this, is not to disparage that volume, but to em it from atter abandity. What is orthodor is one age, is heresy in another, according as the Bibl is popularly interpreted. A vast amount of time ha en wasted, and incalculable mischief done, by tempting to determine whether freedom or slave peace or war, total abstinence or moderate drink the gallows or its abolition, woman's equality or tion or eternal punishment, &c., &c., is sustained by the Bible,-regarding it as an infallible authority all such matters, and therefore a finality. Judge th tree by its fruits. Let conscience and reason, obse vation and experience, be more relied upon than dead parchment. "Why judge ye not of yourselves what is right?" was a pertinent and suggestive inquiry Jesus. They who stood before him were infatuate with a senseless reverence for Moses and Abraham, and full of their worthless traditions, and needed to be reminded (as multitudes now do) that they were bound to examine all things independently for themselves and to take nothing upon trust.

Again-we must dissent from the assertion in this Sermon, that "the clergy are the anointed teachers of the word of God." By the word of God is meant the Bible, for which assumption there is no authority either within or without the lids of the Bible, either in reason or historical verity. God has made a terri ble blunder indeed, if he has had any hand in anom ing the clergy of our land; for, according to the Sermon, "they are the authors and trainers of public sentiment, and responsible for it." What that publi sentiment is, the present demoralized condition of the country testifies trumpet-tongued. Hence we agree with our author, that, "at the judgment seat condemnation than the cowardly and time-serviministry of this day, and of this land." Wherefore, we submit that they are not "the anointed teachers the word of God," but wolves in sheep's clothing Exceptional cases of pulpit fidelity are, "like angels visits, few and far between," and need no special vi dication. The clergy, as a body, are not called a God, but of men, and merely follow preaching as a profession, under a regular contract, and subordinal to the will of a majority of the church or parish Hence their time-serving spirit-their readiness to daub with untempered mortar-and to cry "Peax,

But here is an extract from the Sermon which evinces any thing rather than moral consistency, spiritual enlightment, or anti-slavery fidelity on the jat

"So also there are brave and bonest and well-meaning men, having done yeoman's service human rights, who, because the Chur Christ are guilty of complicity with often apologized for it, and defended sounce the Church and her institutions pocrites, and deny the inspiration on God. The Church is wrong on fearfully wrong, and intensely guild same Church which Christ mutituded. that "the Church of the arms Good, the treath." To her 'are committed the oracles of slavery is ever abolished, it must be by her, with in her hands. Not of such a class, let it be under and the Church of the Puritans. To trate Call. Her impressions, is svill the noot and the Bible is the infallibly rappired Word of only rule of faith and practice.

This is monstrous indeed! The Church which "guilty of complicity with slavery, and has too apologized for it, and DEFENDED IT FROM THE BLE"-which is "wrong, fearfully arrang, on this ject, and INTENSELY GUILTY," is not to be det as "anti-Christ and an abomination," but same Church which Christ instituted," still

Church of truth "!!! than this ! petty offen roosts, and is ever abo Church wh slavery! The Chi ness of mo REVIVAL

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Sermon delivered 860, in the Church Rev. Theodore F. present supplying is an imitator o yle of writing. It ir national system or countenance to omise being made it be true that this e dominance of the

NTI-SLAVERY CON cience is alienated is a lifeless thing; -" Politicians and have qualled bebut the pulse of nat conscience will udiate every comn on every public will dash in pieces its will." This is

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and well-meaning the great cause of and the ministry of every, and have too from the Bible, do not been to be a man of above to be a man of above to be a man of the word of the word to be a think the faith, her order to be a fee to still the her faith, her order to be so that the special see that the se

Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of Church Was there ever a greater jumble of ideas than this! For slavery in this extract, substitute the offence of sheep-stealing, or robbing of henis, and then see how it will read! And, then, the sion so complacently arrived at, that "if slavery or abolished, it must be by her "-by the very hurch which does homage to and is controlled by

davers!
The Church of the Puritans cannot hope for clearness of moral vision while it is satisfied with such a

REVIVAL OF PRO-SLAVERY MOBOCRACY.

The cowardly and lawless interruption of the Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston on the 3d ultimo, under Slavery Convention in Dosont on the od unime, under the leadership of Mr. Richard S. Fay and Mr. J. Murg Howe, has since been imitated at Buffalo, Rocheste, and other places. For an account of the rowdy-ism at the Convention held at Buffalo, see our last page, as given by the Commercial Advertiser of that city, given in a manner to encourage the rioters, rather than otherwise. How utterly lost to all self-respect, to li sense of decency, to every manly feeling, must such invaders of a lawful assembly, convened for the holiest noses, be! Such shameless villany is only one of innumerable plagues to which the accursed slave system has given birth; but, thank God, it is as iment as it is despicable. The result of it will be to rengthen and advance the cause it was intended to put down. This is certain.

A glorious achievement, truly, for an organized body of bellowing, brutal, brazen-faced ruffians to howl down one man and two women, attempting to plead the cause of "all such as are appointed to destruction" in that portion of our land which is "full of the habitaions of cruelty," and thoroughly demonized in spirit! and who were the parties thus put down? Rev. Beriah Green, formerly Professor at Hudson College, and ubsequently President of the Oneida Institute—a man of the rarest culture and the most scholarly attainnents, one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, a great heroic soul, a world-embracing philanthropist, all of "the milk of human kindness," genial, perpasive, courteous, large-hearted, and without spot or demish:-Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of he late highly respected Judge Cady, and wife of Hon. Henry B. Stanton-among the foremost women of the age in intellectual power, moral elevation of aind, breadth of reformatory purpose, and nobility of haracter :- Miss Susan B. Anthony, who is honorably mown to tens of thousands in the Empire State for her efficient public labors in the cause of education, temperance, the rights of her sex, as well as the antislavery cause; intelligent, self-sacrificing, and thor-

One other speaker, who joined this little party a Rochester, Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, needs enly to be named to indicate every thing pure, upright, benevolent, loving and lovable-one in whom all the fruits of the Spirit," enumerated by the Apostle,

re seen in the richest profusion.

And it is such as these who are branded as fanatic and mad, while their vile and rowdy assailants stand forth unblushingly as the representatives of all that is atriotic, and the champions of "law and order. There is no disposition to bring them to justice by ose in authority, for a state of universal demoralization prevails, society is turned upside down, and "he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

THE STRUGGLE WITH SLAVERY.

Extract of a private letter from a prominent and highly esteemed member of the Republican party in Maine to a friend in this city :-"I have often been impelled, during these exciting

times, to write you a few words touching the progress of the great cause in which our feelings are so much interested. The secession of South Carolina, and the strong probability that the confirmed and determined slave States will follow her, is a new phase in the progress of the great struggle with slavery. I have, years, foreseen this result, and have not withheld my vaticinations in regard to it. It must take place now, or some time soon. In spite of the timidity of many Republicans, and the utterly servile spirit of the Northern commercial classes, as indicated in the disgraceful Boston mob, the Philadelphia Union meeting, and the result of the late municipal elections, believe and hope the catastrophe will occur now. True, there are a host of difficulties in the way of eslishing a Southern confederacy-how to carry the mails, how to avoid paying revenue to the General Government, and to obtain out of an impoverished people, whose financial system is in confusion, a sufficient how to appease the jealousy of other slave States, and without a general Convention to agree upon a plan of action which will suit all their different views-all these seem formidable difficulties in the way of the consummation of success. But then the excitement so great, and there is at the bottom of this great uestion such a world-wide difference, out of which hostile feelings constantly grow, that the chances of a compromise and settlement seem very small. The North seem weak enough to compromise again, but the South are so infuriate and unreasonable, so bent upon self-destruction, that it does not seem possible to conciliate them. So, with a separation of the confedera-

ey, we enter upon a new epoch of our history. Upon the slave and his fate, the effect of disunion seems at present disastrous. The separation cuts him off from Northern sympathy, and the influence of a humane and civilized government. If the South would submit to the Republican rule, I think slavery night disappear gradually and peaceably. But, shut up within a confederacy whose sole policy will be the security of slavery. I am afraid the slaveholders will be able to maintain their ill-gotten power for many years. That is, they might do so if their very infatuation did not work their ruin. They will, however, copen the foreign slave trade, and by the superior fruitfulness of the colored race, the white being reenforced by no foreign emigration, will at length create a powerful brute force of fierce hatred and resistance, which will, before many years, quench slavery in blood. It is a fearful future to contemplate; but did ever a guilty people so rush upon a terrible punishment, in spite of all the warnings of mankind?

True, it will be a signal deliverance. To have the horrid and filthy hoof of the Slave Power taken off our necks, and to stand up in the dignity and decency of honest men, will be no slight advantage. Aside from our guilty implication in slavery, no thoughtful person has failed to notice what a hindrance in the way of our progress, what a corrupter of our morals, what a fruitful source of individual and social degradation, the practice of slaveholding has been to us. I believe it will be for the disenthralled North the beginning of a career of advancement in every moral, social and

My only fears are of a dastardly recession, and of an ignominious compromise. Every voice and pen must now come to the rescue, and each with a power self-multiplied, to stimulate, encourage, threaten and command. Blessings upon the Old Guard of Abolitionists! Let every soul be instant, every soldier on his watch-tower; and if treason to right and justice is done, let it not be for want of warning, and sharp and

We regret that the letter of Mr. Pillsbury, last week, was marred by several typographical errors, which were overlooked in correcting proof. We have on file another letter from Mr. P.

We copy from the Northampton Free Press, an excellent and well-conducted paper, the letter from Mr. Burleigh in another column, giving an account of the outrages perpetrated in Westfield West Farms by a gang of "patriotic" rowdies, ending in the burning of the school-house as an offering to the demon spirit

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSORIPTION-ANNIVERSARY. Captured, they should not be given up to them by the North, but to the pirates who had captured them; and

The claims of this anniversary can hardly fail, at a trey snown making such a stipulation. Would the present hour, to be recognized. Its funds are devoted, not to African colonization; not to political parvoted, not to political parv

every life with danger and dishonor. While fulfilling consider itself bound to enforce a law, made under even the simplest duty of humanity to any perishing fellow-creature who has taken refuge in the sanctuary dead letter, totally to be disregarded and contemped. of their own homes, their whole nature is outraged by Now, the doctrine is maintained by those in favor the thought that he may be mercilessly seized as a of executing the laws made under the provision of hunted child from a fate worse than death, without the that all provisions of the Constitution, of whatever

and imprisonment. the people would betimes have been so warmly and and their whole doctrine is overthrown. wisely devoted to this magnificent cause, that revolution would have been purely moral, and no disturbing crisis like the present could have occurred.

But the wrong a few just and generous persons have en unable to prevent, may still, by timely co-opera-

tion with them, be retrieved. In the very nature of things as they here exist, it vill always rest with disinterested persons in private life to initiate every change for the better. Under its present cherished institutions, the country must always ook beyond its Church and State dignitaries, its political and ecclesiastical servants, for the previous preparation indispensable to national progress; for how can a Governor, a Senator, a Judge, a minister of any denomination or religious society, take the lead? Every such public functionary is engaged by the people not o lead, but to serve; not to make creeds and constitutions, but to administer under them; not to make things what they should be, but to take them exactly as they

service, like that which for the last seven and twenty years the American Anti-Slavery Society has by this anniversary helped to fulfil. Its claims to popular support begin to be felt. The moral vanguard of the people, whether in a sovereign or a functionary capacity, begins to see the mistake of sending a noble official servant to reap where no generous voluntary service of good and thoughtful men has previously sowed. Let all now unite to sustain such a service-the only possible means of peaceful national progress—the only continued national existence.

After having for a life-time done what we could in act of subscription to which we now invite.

the largest in his power.

Slavery Subscription-Anniversary,

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LIBERTY ACT.

NUMBER III. It is admitted by nearly all persons in the free States, that slavery is intrinsically and fundamentally wrong, that it is a violation of justice and natural rights, at war with the laws of God and humanity, and that no government has a right to legalize it, and make and may maintain it by legal enactments when it is created. But, in my judgment, a great mistake is made, and a great fallacy uttered, when such a doctrine is advanced, and such an extensive application of the right of sovereignty is claimed. This right, like all other rights, is bounded by the principles of justice and equity, and cannot transcend them. No State under it has the right to legalize crime and wickedness, and to make it legal to commit murder. theft, pirncy or slavery. No State has even the political right to do such a thing, certainly not the moral right. No State has the right to pass a law, allowing an act which is "malum in se,"—that is, in itself in-trinsically wicked and criminal. It has undoubtedly the right to pass a law, allowing an individual to do, or prohibiting him from doing, an act which is or is not malum prohibitum," or a crime, according as it is, or is not, allowed by the State. By "malum prohibitum" may become so by being prohibited by the State. To not beyond them. Slavery, then, being a crime, "malum in se," like murder, theft and piracy, cannot possibly be legalized by government, but must remain such, whether the government attempts to legalize it or not; and should be so considered and treated by

clear one, I will suppose that, at the time the Union ple, on Thursday morning next, at half-past 10 o'clock. practice in the Southern States-that a large number will, it is hoped, be strongly represented. of vessels were permitted by law to engage in this

that they should insist upon a provision in the Nation-

tisanship; not to theological and metaphysical polem- bound to observe it? Would they feel justified in ics; not to the separate education or religious instruc-tion of persons of color; not to the fomenting of sec-this way should be considered and treated as property tional prejudice, civil war, or bloody insurrection; not to the relief or redemption of individuals.

obtained in any other way, and given up, not to its real and bona fide owner, but to those who had no other to the relief or redemption of individuals.

These subscriptions have always been appropriated claim to it than that founded upon piracy? I do no to the work of awakening the public conscience, en-larging the popular heart, and enlightening the nation-al mind, that, by the practical application, through or, if they made it, that they would consider themlegitimate channels, of the acknowledged religious and selves bound to carry it into execution. I believe political principles of this country, slavery might be abolished, and the whole land made happy and united: that the State would decide that it was a stipulation that they never had a right to make,—that it was a not through enforced emancipation, but by voluntary clear invasion of the rights and property of others, a founded in justice and the laws of all other countries There is no longer any need of defining or describ- of the civilized globe, except these piratical governng the brutal system of slavery that, since 1789, has ments; and having so decided, they would proceed been demoralizing the country. A lifetime—under violence, loss, and continual annoyance—has been void, leaving in full operation all other parts of the spent in doing that. The people know, now, that it is no distant, imaginary evil, but one that overshadows And no judicial tribunal, National or State, would

slave, from the very hearth. They cannot protect a the National Constitution relating to fagitive slaves, risk of being themselves broken down for life by fine nature, must be recognized and enforced, without an regard to their justice or injustice, and that all States Of course, the pious refusal of free Northern popu- which have adopted this Constitution, and the indilations to obey such diabolical mockeries of Constitu- viduals composing them, are bound to carry out these tions and laws, with the simultaneous determination of provisions, and can in no way be released from them. slaveholding ones at the South never to permit their Now, we have put a case, putting to a test the soundamendment, necessitates revolution. And now, no equalified observer, surveying the country, can hesitate sound, and that there may be cases where a provision to acknowledge the great work already done by the of the Constitution would clearly not be binding; American Anti-Slavery Society. It has enabled the Northern populations to meet the present crisis with whole ground upon which the binding force of the calm and intelligent resolution; and if the American
Anti-Slavery Society had been earlier sustained, to
who believe in its gross injustice and criminality. diffuse its deep human feelings, its true counsels and For if one provision of the Constitution may be ren accurate knowledge, more extensively, the masses of dered invalid for such a cause, so may another be;

But to continue the parallel between piracy and slavery. I say that the views expressed above in relation to piracy apply equally well to slavery. This in stitution, here at the North, is viewed as criminal as piracy, and the property held under it as wrongful and unjustifiable; and even more so, as the one is the asserted right of property in the souls and bodies of our fellow-men, and the other in mere inanimate matter, as goods, wares and merchandize. And not only so, but that slavery is the actual result of the slave trade, which is now legally piracy, as it was always morally such, so that the only claim of the owner of a slave to a property in him is one founded on piracy, either directly, or through a remote ancestor of the existing slave. What such a right of property is worth is easily understood by those who can appreciate the source from which it proceeds, viz., piracy. Why, then, entertaining such opinions here at the North, have we any more right to recognize the right of property in slaves than in vessels captured by piracy? And why have we any more right to stipulate, by a constitutional provision, to return slaves to their masters, as their just property, instead of allowing them to own themselves, than to return vessels and cargoes captured by pirates to the latter, instead of their true owners? And why is the State or its citizens, or any tribunal, whether State or National, any more bound to carry this constitutional stipulation into effect, than such a stipulation in regard to pirated property? I must confess that, for myself, I do not see even so possible condition of national growth or guaranty for much reason, as the enormity of the crime in the case of slavery is so much greater.

There can be but one possible ground that furnishes this behalf, have we not established its claim upon even a specious justification of slavery, and that is, every thoughtful, just and noble soul? On all such that the African race are not in fact human beings, we cordially and confidently rely for both moral sup- but brutes, and therefore, like other brutes, are justly port and pecuniary aid. Both will be afforded by the subjected to the dominion and control of the white race, who are, in fact, the only human beings. But We entreat our friends to remember that, however no one, even the most inveterate slaveholder, will atadvantageous and indispensable the largest sums subscribed, none confer on us a higher obligation than the differences in intellectual capacity among the African smaller one which the guest offers, regretting that it is race, as there are among the white race, and the highest order of the former stand higher in the scale In behalf of the Twenty-Seventh National Anti- of intellectual development than the lowest of the latter; so that if intellect is to be made the standard according to which men are to be made slaves, a large part of the white race should be reduced to slavery, as well as any portion of the Africa And not only so, upon the ground that the whole African race are naturally inferior to the whole white race, and therefore may be reduced to slavery, it would necessarily follow that there should be no free colored people, as there are at present, but all indiscriminately should be made slaves. And the fact that a large portion of the African race, even in the slaveholding it one of their civil institutions. But it has been these States, they have no confidence in this doctrine States, are allowed to remain free, shows that even in claimed, that by reason of the right of sovereignty, any government has the right to exercise a jurisdiction over all subjects pertaining to the welfare of the people under its control, and that, by virtue of this right only title is that of gross and unmitigated wrong. Its only title is that of gross and unmitted upon a only title is the only that the only the only the order of the order of

human being; and it is equally criminal with other piracy, and much more so. I hold, therefore, that the National Government have no right in any way to recognize the institution of slavery as legally existing in any territory under the jurisdiction and control of the National Government; for they have no authority given to them by the Constitution, from which they derive all their authority, for this purpose, but that they are bound both by the letter and spirit of this instrument to abolish it wherever it exists in the National Territory and in the District of Columbia, and by a law of Congress forbid that it should ever be introduced into any of the Territories of the United States; and that no compromise ever should be acceded to by the free States, with a view of conciliating the slave States, let the consequences be what they may, which should recognize the legal existence of slavery in any way whatever within the is meant, an act which in itself is not criminal, but jurisdiction and sovereignty of the National Government. If the Union cannot be saved but by a sacrifice may become so by being prohibited by the State. To such acts, the sovereign power of the State extends, but ored them. Slavery then being a crime ored race, let it fall! My maxim in this, as in all other cases, is-" Fiat justitia, ruat calum."

W. S. A.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL AND ANNIVERSARY. We trust it will only be necessary to remind the friends of our cause, that the Annual Subscription-Festival will If this position is a sound one,—and of this I have be held on Wednesday evening next, at Music Hall, no doubt,-it follows necessarily, that no State in to insure a large and brilliant assembly, ready to teswhich slavery does not exist has any right to consider tify their abiding interest and unwearied zeal in behalf slavery a legal institution in any State where it does of the grandest movement of the age, by contributing exist, but a crime there and everywhere. And such generously of their means for its completion, whether being the case, it has no right to bind itself by any it be the willow's two mites, or donations on the largest constitutional provision to recognize it as a legal one, scale. For particulars, see advertisement in another and to engage that a fugitive slave shall be returned to

his master; for by so doing it becomes particeps crim-inis with the slave State itself.

ment of the case from the pen of Mrs. Chapman.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-To illustrate these views, and make the case a very Slavery Society will commence in the Tremont Temwas formed, pirocy was an authorized and legalized Its members and friends in the various country towns

enterprise, and that the vessels and cargoes taken by SEND IN THE PETITIONS. The petitions for putthese piratical expeditions were considered by the law of these States as the legal property of the captors, and setts should be immediately forwarded for presentanow proposed by them to form a union with the North; and in doing this, they maintain that it is not cessary that the North should recognize this right in them to engage in these piratical expeditions, and their right of property in the vessels and cargoes they should capture; and that if any of these vessels and difference is there between the act of kidnapping on cargoes should find their way into the Northern the coast of Africa, and consenting to the re-capture of house, I found the evening so far spent that I concluded not to resume my discourse, and after passing

Westfield, Thursday evening, and uttered sentiments so offensive that a mob gathered and broke up the meeting, and celebrated their triumph by making a saving it. Probably at the overturning of the stove, a

much, at that, it is true—than they deserve, for it implies that their riotous demonstration was provoked by something "offensive" which they heard in the adaptive and purposely set the house on fire. Be that as it dress. The truth is, they did not wait to know whether its "sentiments" would be "offensive" or not; the school house was made a whole burnt-offering to but began the disturbance before a word of it was ut- the demon-deity whose worship is the suppression tered, and even before the speaker had reached the free speech for freedom. And what could be in better place of meeting. It was enough for them that he weeping? If thought is to be stifled and utterance was "a —— Abolitionist," [they filled the blank choked, in order that slavery may go unrebuked, what with a different epithet from the Republican's,] and that is the need or use of school-houses ! Why should not the appointment had been made by "a [epithet reignorance go with barbarism?

C. C. BURLEIGH. peated] Black Republican." Between these two pestiferous classes of persons, they evidently saw no appreciable difference; for their maledictions were distributed between them with entire impartiality, as well as the utmost liberality. If you think your readers would care to see a correct account of the affair, the following is at your disposal.

On Wednesday evening last, I went to Westfield West Farms, to meet an appointment, which, at my request, had been made for me there. Having redly, within the last two or three years, had a quiet and attentive hearing there. I went, anticipating othing else at this time. But, on reaching the schooluse, at the appointed hour, I found a scene of unexpected confusion, and soon saw evidence of a pur-pose to make disturbance. The house was nearly full -some were sitting, some standing—there was a buzz of voices—the stove had been thickly sprinkled with ome substance like pepper, which, in burning, gave out a pungent odor, annoying to all in the house. Most of the company had come to hear the address; a few -five or six, I think-to prevent its being heard. The well-disposed had opened a window to correct the air, but could keep it open only by taking the sash entire

The chief rioter, whose name I was told was Tyler, and whose face bore, in Nature's plain hand-writing, a certificate of his fitness for the work he was about, sat at the teacher's desk, no doubt to prevent my standing there; and with him sat an old man, of countenance no way prepossessing, puffing tobacco-smoke from the stump of a pipe blackened by much use. I passed in and, not at first suspecting the purpose of their sitting there, laid on the desk a bundle of books and roll of portraits, and had hardly more than turned to take a up, and held them in my hands during the remainder

of my stay in the house. The head of the riotous gang now began to vociferate that no lecture should be allowed there, protesting, with sundry expletives more emphatic than elegant or reverent, that we had no right to use the house for uch purpose. Others replied and remonstrated voices grew high, oaths were frequent, and fists were shaken. Seeing the impossibility of making myself heard to any advantage, I stood a silent spectator of the tumult for a few minutes, then accepted the invitation of the occupant of a dwelling-house near by, to go and give my lecture in that. As I began to move toward the door, a small specimen of a man met me, rudely seized my arm, gave me a push more spiteful than forcible, and said something about tar and feathers. I walked on as if he had not been in the way, and nearly all present went with me to the friendly neighbor's house, where we had an undisturbed and

At the close of my discourse-as I had no engage ment for the next evening—I proposed to speak again somewhere in that region, and, being promptly invited to do so at the same house, made an appointment ac cordingly. But the next day, some who were indignant at what they considered a violation of their right to hear peaceably in their school-house, resolved to try again to assert that right. They got permission of the District Committee man to use the house, and an-nounced that the meeting would be there. [I learned in the morning, what I did not know before, that permission had not been asked for the first evening, be cause, as I was told, it had been customary to use the ouse for meetings without that formality, and no objection was anticipated, as none had ever before been

had spoken hardly more than fifteen minutes when he tions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly appeared, and standing in the door, with his gang behind him, began a clamorous interruption. Some within tried to prevail on him to be quiet, and to let voted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State the door be shut, but he only grew more noisy, till several of the young men, provoked beyond their whose heart is in unison with ours on this subject, will be power of self-restraint, (some "Democrats" among the found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to them, not liking perhaps that the reputation of their party should be compromised by the bully's conduct,) the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, rushed upon him to put him out. A scene of wild confusion followed; struggling and pushing and blows, been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as posswearing and threats and defiance, making altogether a tumult in which it was, of course, useless to try to proceed with my address, and I stood looking on in silence. In the strife, one rioter seized some of my books which were spread on the desk before me, and books which were spread on the desk before me, and hurled them furiously at his antagonists; but my friends gathered them up, and returned them to me While the battle raged, one of the mob snatched the loose legs of the stove from under it on one side, and overturned it, pouring the fire out upon the floor, and filling the room with smoke. My friends speedily replaced it, and, as they supposed, gathered up and put back all the coals. It having become manifest that the rioters were strong enough to prevent my being heard, I again & ended to leave the house, and repair to the kind neighbor's, (the invitation being renewed,) where we met the evening before. I had packed my books and put on my coat for this purpose, when a new phase of the affair appeared. It seems that, doubtful of their success in one way, the mob had planned another-had sent to Westfield for a lawyer who was also a Justice of the Peace, and a police officer, and that these dignitaries had been in the house during a part of the time of the struggle just described; the man of "a little brief authority," the magistrate-law yer, had made out a warrant to arrest me on a charge of assault, using as complainant the fellow who had assaulted me the evening before. The poor fellow's notions of personal identity had, it seems, become so confused in the tumult that, mistaking me for himself, and himself for me, he swore to a complaint against me for his own act upon me. The officer came to me, warrant in hand, but, instead of making the arrest, told me that the movers of the prosecution would withdraw it, if I would leave the school-house. I replied, in substance, that if he wished to give me a motive for going, he was too late, as I had already resolved to go for another reason, the impossibility of making myself heard there; if he wished to hasten my going, he was too soon, for now I must stop awhile No. 7. longer, to inquire into this new shape of the case, and that I was curious to see the man who had sworn to such a ridiculously false accusation. The man was No. 8. called out, and stood forward, not-I thought-with the greatest alacrity or an air of the utmost confidence, and I subjected him to a brief cross-questioning which he evidently did not enjoy; although, of course, with his instigators and backers about him, he still stood to were adjudged such by their legal tribunals. It is tion to the Legislature. They can be sent either to his lie, and they echoed it. But he soon slunk back among the crowd. Having given his associates a concise expression of my estimate of the whole affair, and

MOBOCRACY AT WESTFIELD WEST FARMS, half an hour or so in social converse, we dispersed. MOBOURAGY AT WESTFIELD WEST FARMS.

In last Saturday's Springfield Republican, I read that "Charles C. Burleigh, a rabid Abolitionist, delivered a political address at a school-house in West Farms, later, the voices of my host and his family roused me bonfire of the school-house and its contents."

This statement gives the mob more credit—not from them the fire had kindled; though, as I heard

Florence, 1st mo. 8th, 1861.

CORRECTION AND ANNOUNCEMENT.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR: In your last issue, you announce that the Dial is to e discontinued. Please correct this as soon as you can. The Dial is changed from a Monthly to a Quarterly Magazine, but counts yet on a long battle for the liberty of Man. It hopes to give good papers, during the year, from Emerson, Curtis, Thorcau, Sanborn, Howells, Furness, Joel and Myron Benton, and O. B Frothingham. It claims to be the freest magazine in America; and if it dies, 't will be of telling the truth to despots of mind and body. From all who care to the extent of two hundred cents whether such an organ "is voted up or voted down," I shall hope to hear. Yours for good drainage, whatever frog-ponds be M. D. CONWAY. roken up,

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 23d of January,

in Music Hall, Boston. As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say that ALL who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers survey of the room, when both were violently hurled to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without against the stove, and fell to the floor. I took them expatriation, may obtain special invitations (without which no party is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and of the Ladies at their respective

> MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT. ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN. HELEN ELIZA GARRISON. SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS. CAROLINE WESTON. MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY. SARAH P. REMOND, SARAH RUSSELL MAY. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH II. SOUTHWICK. EVELINA A. SMITH. ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE. ELIZA APTHORP. MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH. ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS. The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in coun

try towns, with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, When we met the second evening, no disturbers at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences were at first present, and it was said that the mobleader had declared that he should not molest us. But
either the report or his declaration proved false, for I The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversa-tion in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and

shawls in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting at the door.

The guests who have not already received special

ons, will find them at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street. NEW SERIES OF TRACTS. PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE

Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beekman Street, New York; 107 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia; 15 Steuben Street, Albany; and 221 Washington Street, Boston. No. 1. - Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and

Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. pp. 28. 5 cents. -Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c.

pp. 24. 5 cents.

-An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections during the last two Centuries. By JOSHUA COPPIN. pp. 36. 5 cents.

The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding

States, for 1859 and 1860. pp. 144. 10 cents.
No. 5.—Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. pp. 48. 5 cents.

The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. Maria Chill. pp. 95. 10 cents.

-Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper's

Ferry, with his Address to the Court. pp. 16. The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By WENDELL PRILLIPS. pp. 47. 5 cents.

The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave

Act : An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachu-

setts. By L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 36. 5 cents. The Infidelity of Abolitionism. By Wx.
LLOYD GARRISON. pp. 12. 3 cents.

Speech of John Hossack, convicted of a Violation of the Fugitive Slave Act at Chicago, Ill.

MASS ACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Saline Holley :

Collections by Salise Holley:

iiilbury, 8 36; Brookfield, 7 56; Andover, 7;
Mrs. E. B. Chase, 5; A friend, 1 58; Newburyport, 7 25; Diamond Plain, 6 12; West Wrentham, 4 21; Barnstable, 2 08; North Dennis,
3 76; East Dennis, 4 29; Harwich, 9; Hyannis, 5 02; Centreville, 4; Mrs. Russell Marston,
2; Osterville, 8 32; Coulit, 6; Provincetown,
6 27; Manville, R. I. 3 43; East Greenwich,
do. 4 23; Canton, Mass., 5 34; East Needham,
4 30; North Berwick, 3; James N. Buffum, 10;
Franklin, 3 57; West Medway, 5 53; friends,
2; Fall River, 10; a friend, 1,

llections by A. T. Foss : Collections by A. T. Foss: outributions at Fall River, \$10; Wm. Barker, 1; Wm. Howland, 1; New Bedford, 20; Lawrence, \$36 91 EDMUND JACKSON, Treasur

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION .- The Fourth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention will seld at Albany, in Association Hall, Monday evening, Tuesday and Wednesday, afternoon and evenings, Feb. 4, 5, 6. Hon. Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Beriah Gr estine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Oliver Johnon, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Convention.

Afternoon sessions will commence at half-past 2 o'clock.

Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. SIXTEENTH COURSE.-The Eighth Lecture before the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be given by Rev. Friederick Frothingham, of Portlend, on Sun-

day evening, 20th January, in Lyceum Hall, at 7 e'clock.

The Ninth Lecture will be given the following Tuesday evening, 22d inst., by Rev. J. M. Manning, of Boston, e same place. Admittance fivec ents.

CAROLINE BALCH, Rec. Sec.

MANCHESTER, N. H .- A. T. Foss, HERRY C. WRIGHT and J. M. HAWKS will speak in Manchester, N.

II., Sunday, Jan. 20, day and evening. H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at Neponset, Monay evening, Jan. 12.

H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at East Abington, Sunday, Jan. 27, afternoon and evenin . At Bridge-water, Tuesday, Jan. 31.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS .- The Second Annual New York State Woman's Rights Convention will be held at ALBANY, in Association Hall, Thursday and Friday,

ternoons and evenings, Feb. 7 and 8. Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Hon. Gerrit Smith, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others, will ad

dress the Convention.

Afternoon sessions at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission 10 cts

FREE DISPENSARY, for Women and Children, 274 Washington street, Boston. Open every day, from 12 to 1 o'clock. The above institution (in connection with the LADIES'

MEDICAL ACADEMY) is now open for the gratuitous treat-ment of Women and Children, and for Surgical Patients of both sexes. Difficult cases may have the benefit of a Consultation on Wednesdays, at 12 o'clock. MIDWIFERY. Attendance by duly qualified female practitioners will be provided for the poor, at their own homes,

free of charge. MRS. M. B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homocopathic treatment of dis-eases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and

Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me. ortland, Me.
Rooms No. 34 Bowdoin and 10 Allston streets. Office

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BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D., No. 34 Auburn Street, Boston. Particular attention paid to the Diagnosis and Treatment of Chronic Diseases.

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SITUATION WANTED .- A lady who has had large experience in matters of house-keeping, and who is eminently qualified satisfactorily to discharge the duties connected therewith, desires a situation either as housekeeper, or matron of some establishment, either in this city or vicinity. The best of references given. Address X., Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street.

If Mr. Henry Alexander will call on R. F. Walleut, at 221 Washington street, he will find the document which he left at 26 Essex street.

MARRIED—In this city, Jan. 7, by Rev. L. A. Grimes, ELIJAH W. SMITH to ELIZA RILEY.

JOHN WM. TRAMOH to FLORENCE P. GAULT.

In Northampton, Jan. 9, HENRY M. BURY, Editor of the Northampton Free Press, to Frances A. Hunt, daughter of Seth Hunt, Esq.

The British Reviews, Blackwood's Magazine.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY, (Conservative.)

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, (Whig.) THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, (Free Church.)

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, (Liberal.)

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, (Tory.) TERMS. Per ann. For any one of the four Reviews, \$3 00 For any two of the four Reviews, 5 00 For any three of the four Reviews, For all four of the Reviews, 8 00 For Blackwood's Magazine, For Blackwood and one Review, 3 00 5 ,00 For Blackwood and two Reviews. 7 00 For Blackwood and three Reviews, For Blackwood and the four Reviews, 10 00 N. B.—The price in Great Britain of the five Periodicals

bove-named is \$31 per annum.

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GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.

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All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
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Sue

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ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR Propositions, theological, moral, historical and speculative, each proved affirmatively and negatively, by quotations from Seripture; embodying most of the palpable and striking self-contradictions of the so-called inspired Word of God. Fourth Edition. Price 13 cents, post-paid. Eight for a dollar. Sold by all liberal booksellers, and by the publishers, 05 cm 274 Canal street, New York.

cise expression of my estimate of the whole affair, and then invited all who wished to hear me farther to follow me to the neighboring dwelling-house again, I led the way thither. Some followed; some stayed to speak their minds also to the rioters. On reaching the house, I found the evening so far spent that I concluded not to resume my discourse, and after passing cluded not on the register and a cluded not on the register and a cluded not on the register and a cluded not on the register and TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

LINES TO NEW ENGLAND.

BY THE OLD COLONY BARD. Stand firm, New England !-calm and cool Be thy deliberations now; Though madness in the South may rule, Still, Freedom claims thine altar-vow; Of what for Freedom thou hast wrought,

Heed not Oppression's angry waves! Thy free-born sons to chattel slaves, Peace to ensure, though thou transform, Give, give,' the slave-fiend still would cry; No boon would ever satisfy!

Inglerious peace thou wilt not crave, Freedom and honor dwell with thee No son of thine can be a slave, Thy mountains and thy plains are free; Then, if a hunted bondman come, NEW ENGLAND may he make his home !

From the Harvard Magazine. EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE Bright year of promise ! ushered in By ransomed millions' loud acclaim. Who now a nobler life begin, Redeem'd from Slavery's curse and shame ! The Russian serf, but yesterday A slave to the insensate sod, No more a tyrant must obey, But bows before the freeman's God.

> Yet not alone by Baltie's tide This morn the sun of freedom shines, But walks, with more than regal pride, Above the classic Apenni For Italy, so long cast down Mindful, at last, of old renown, Draws, not in vain, th' avenging steel. Now by the Tiber's storied wave,

And Adriatic's silver flood. Striking for freedom or a grave, The patriot sheds his dearest blood. Base Bomba from his hated throne By Garibaldi's hand is hurled; And Freedom's fruitful seed is sown Amid the plaudits of the world. O glorious Sixty-one, all bail!

From distant Ural's snowy pine The songs of Freedom swell thy gale, To the fair Southern Land of Vines. So may we feel that healthful breeze Sweep hither on its saving way. Our tyrants' hearts with terror seize, And speed Emancipation's day.

Though now where Santee's waters flow, And by Fort Moultrie's blood-stained wall, Born to a heritage of woe, Bows 'neath the lash the Afric thrall, God grant the contest now begun May bid the bondman's fetters fall; Then shall we sing thee, Slxty-one, The year most glorious of all

From the Boston Journal. THE VOICE OF THE DYING YEAR. WRITTEN DETWEEN ELEVEN AND TWELVE ON THE LAST NIGHT OF THE YEAR.

As within my chamber musing. Watching the departing year, Listening to the tread of angels," Waiting still their notes to hear;

Lo! I hear the spirit voices Of the dying year exclaim: Have you used the moments wisely, Or has been my gift in vain? Have you tried to help the needy?

Have you soothed the bed of pain? Have you lifted up the lowly, Nor have deemed your labor vain? If a single ray of sunshine

Or a heart was made more grateful In the dwellings of the poor? Have you wept with weeping mourners?

Have you dried their falling tears? Have you pointed them to JESUS, en you gained their listening car?

liave you tried to be more useful. As the hours flew swiftly by, And to bear with greater pas

Have you learned the one great lesson Which our FATHER fain would teach That the trials and temptations Which His wisdom gives to each,

Are the rounds in life's rough ladder, Which our toiling feet must press, Ere we see His glery dawning From the Mount of Holiness ?

If you have, the year in passing Has not fled for you in vain, But the Lond of all the harvest Has secured His golden grain. No. 34 Bowdoin street.

> IF WE KNEW. If we knew the cares and crosses Crowding round our neighbor's way; If we know the little losses Sorely grievous day by day; For the lack of thrift and gain-Leaving on his heart a stain?

If we knew the clouds above us. Held by gentle blessings there Would we turn away all trembling, Would we shrink from little shadows Lying on the dewy grass, While 'tis only birds of Eder Just in mercy flying past?

Quivering through the heart of pain, Would our womanhood dare doom them Back to haunts of guilt again? Life hath many a tangled crossing, And the cheeks, tear-washed, are whitest : This the blessed angels know.

Let us reach into our bosoms For the key to other lives. And with love toward erring nature, Cherish good that still survives So that when our disrobed spirits We may say, Dear Father, judge us As we judge our fellow-men!

TREASON.

Remember him, the villain, righteons Heaven. thy great day of vengeance, and blast the trait And his pernicious connsel, who, for wealth, For power, the pride of greatness, or revenge, Would plunge his native land in civil war !

Is there not some chosen curse me hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the ma-Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?

THE TRUE PREACHER He stands as the grave old prophet stood Proclaiming the truth of the living God-Pouring reproof on the ears of men, Whose hearts are at ease in their folly and sin. With a challenge of guilt still unforgiven, To the soul unfitted, unmeet for Heaven.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Are you for Liberty, or for Slavery?—The Mighty Is-suc—The one Great Test of the Nineteenth Centu-ry—The Doom of all who befriend Slavery. WEST RANDOLPH, (Vt.) January 4, 1861.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:
MY FRIEND—Great and intense is the excitement model Republic-the cowardice and treachery of Buand other slave States, to enable them to secede and tion resist the Federal Government, all carried on under government! Deep, loud and bitter are the curses

test news from Washington and Charleston. Even now the people can hardly believe that slaveholders can be the embodiment of the 'sum of all villany.' They are amazed at such fraud, treachery, lying, theft, robbery and plunder as are praced by the slaveholders, though their eyes see and their ears hear it all. They are unwilling to believe that a slaveholder is of necessity a thief and robber, and that he can, in the nature of things, have no refor the character and rights of slaveholders, said, the them! they are determined to prove themselves to be just what the Abolitionists have declared them to be, the meanest and vilest of all thieves and robbers." It is very hard for priests and politicians to admit that we have never applied an epithet to slaveholders which they did not deserve.

But I took my pen to say to all true friends of liberty and enemies of slavery, amid this storm and tempest of revolution, when the Republic, in its present form, is hastening to its final doom, do not lose sight does, her infamy will be complete. of the one great issue-Liberty or Slavery. This is now, and ever has been, the sole and single issue-the one before the nation and the world, and, ever since, we have been applying it as a test to Church and State. believed the attempt would be made. Are you the friend of liberty, or of slavery ! This has been applied to priests, deacons, Christians and churches; to politicians, legislators, judges, governors and presidents. Are the Bible and Constitution, are the creeds of churches and political parties, for liberty, or for slavery? We have said-Down with the Bible! Down with the Constitution! Down with Democracy! Down with Whiggery! Down with the Republic! Down with all religions, governments, and gods-that cannot exist without enslaving men! Let men be sacred in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness "-and let all things perish that must exist by desecrating and imbruting man! This has been the sole and single issue of Abolitionists, and to this test have all institutions and customs, social, ecclesiastical and political, been brought.

Before this God-appointed test, down went the Methodist church, as a national organization. Then down went the Baptist denomination. Then followed the Presbyterian combination. The entire South went for the "sum of all villany." the North for liberty (politically.) But all the ecclesiastical bodies of the untry have bowed, and done homage to the test, to some extent-at least so far as to make all slaveholders feel that they were on trial before the religious tribunals of the land, as convicted murderers and pirates.

The same test-Are you for liberty, or for slavery was applied to political combinations. Down went the Know-Nothing party. Then, down went the Whig party. Then, down went the Democratic party. long prayed and labored. As national organizations, they all went for slavery; and where are they? With the dead past—no more to take part in the mighty and glorious conflict between Liberty and Slavery. And now, as the last crowning triumph of Liberty, DOWN HAS GONE THE AMERICAN Union !- this great American Republic, which had by her loud and continued boasts of liberty attracted ety held its quarterly meeting at Lawrence Hall in this the gaze of mankind. But her staple article of trade proved to be "slaves and the souls or MEN." litionists asked the American Republic-" Art thou for liberty, or for slavery?" The Republic answered, "For slavery"-and sank, to rise no more.

Thus have gone down to death and oblivion, as litical horizon all our Northern statesmen, our Webcombinations. With them have passed from the posters, our Fillmores, our Pierces, our Douglases, our Cushings, our Bell-Everetts, our Choates, who have taken part in the mighty struggle. They went for slavery-the Benedict Arnolds in the camp of Freedom-and have shrunk away. One yet remains, the arch traitor of all-so far as he had power to beand James Buchanan now hangs over the yawning gulf of oblivion, into which he is soon to plunge, amid the scorn and contempt and bitter execrations of an insulted and betrayed nation. Even those for whom he has sacrificed his manhood spit upon him, and turn from him with loathing, as from some weak and cowardly reptile.

Thus must it ever be from this day forth and forever: for, in this conflict between Liberty and Slavery, the friends of Liberty can never retreat, nor stay their warfare, till the friends of Slavery have ceased to pollute the earth. In this hour of revolution, when our political institutions, so far as they are for slavery, are being dashed to pieces, may Abolitionists never forget the secret of their power-i. e., uncompromising fidelity to liberty-uncompromising hostility to slavery. Liberty and Slavery! the two great antagonistic ideas and institutions of the continents of fort, on a national arena, by the greatest intellects of time, it seemed as if slavery was destined to win the day : but "THE LIBERATOR" came to the rescue : and, after revealing to the astonished world the facts and horrors of slavery as they exist under the sanc around the standard of liberty the self-forgetting, self- be disastrous in its progress, and sure of an igno sacrificing and truly heroic of two continents, and from that day the minions of slavery have been assailed and driven from one hiding place to another, until now they are compelled to appear in their true character-as kidnappers and pirates-as impersonations of the "sum of all villany." And all has been gained, solely, by an earnest and persevering applicaholders, slave-breeders, slave-traders, slave-hunters, slave-drivers, are on trial before the tribunal of God therein was a compromise of the rights of man. and humanity, as thieves, and robbers, and kidnappers, and pirates-as perpetrators of rape and incestas those who sell their own daughters and sisters to been disastrous; and the fact that South Carolina had prostitution, and grow fat on the blood and tears of seceded, and that other States were about to do so,

being rendered against them. You, dear Garrison, have led the van in this tri- to unite fire and gunpowder-that the struggle that umph of truth over falsehood, of justice over injus- had been going on between them since the tice, of purity over impurity, of liberty over slavery; it has been accomplished without violence, or threats the American Union, for in its destruction we have plication of the test-Are you for liberty, or for slavery? to the domestic, social, ecclesiastical, political, com- a large majority. mercial and literary life of the nation. Helper, in Mr. Remond's remarks were confined chiefly to his "Impending Crisis," has truly given, in a brief the present crisis in political affairs. He said the ab-

formula, the secret of your power, and the weapons

"No co-operation with slaveholders in politics.
No fellowship with them in religion.
No affiliation with them in society.
No patronage to slaveholding merchants.
No guestship in slave-waiting hotels.
No fees to slaveholding lawyers.
No employment to slaveholding physicians.
No audience to slaveholding parsons. No employment to slaveholding physicia No audience to slaveholding parsons. No recognition of pro-slavery men, except as ruffians, outlaws and criminals."

Thus applying the simple test, you and your co borers have laid low in dust the pro-slavery organiamong the Green Mountains. The dissolution of the zations in Church and State, as national inc American Union-the downfall of the Republic, the and the people are driven to reconstruct their eccle siastical and political institutions on the new basischanan—the deliberate treachery of Floyd and Cobb, i.e., WHOLLY FOR LIBERTY, OF WHOLLY FOR SLAVE who have controlled the Treasury and the military RY. The principle of compromise between these two the past four years, and used all their power and influence to throw money and arms into South Carolina more be the basis of a religious or political organiza-

the eye and in presence of the President, and he taking no steps to prevent the treachery, and to preserve the for both. All in heaven and earth must be wholly for poured upon them all by those whose homes are amid these valleys and upon these mountains. Multitudes await around the stations and post-offices, on the arrican serve God and Mammon. No man can be for can serve God and Mammon. No man can be for val of every train and mail, all eager to get the la- Christ and against him. All that is for liberty must be the undying foe of slavery; all that is for slavery must be the eternal enemy of liberty. HENRY C. WRIGHT.

P. S. Dear Garrison, I am with your friends James and Abby Hutchinson. You will not be forgotten in this family amid the Green Mountains, where you, as a most welcome guest, have been en They only wish you to come again, actertained. companied by Mrs. Garrison. I hope you spect for property, or personal and family rights. One man, who had ever opposed Abolitionists, and pleaded in bodily form. It is a beautiful world amid these so, should another summer find you battling for liberty snow and forest-capped mountains; and James and other day, respecting the secession traitors, "D-n Abby Hutchinson nobly and personally battle for the rights of man among the sons and daughters of Ver-

There is great and general satisfaction throughout the State, so far as I can learn, that the Legislature so promptly refused to repeal her Personal Liberty Bill Can it be that the dear Old Bay State will repe laws for the protection of personal liberty on her soil. at the bidding of kidnappers-even though the alternative be the entire dis-

How about the Annual Meeting? Will the Bell-Everetts, headed by Fay, attempt to mob it? Thouonly test: Are you for Liberty, or for Slavery? Thirty sands would go down from the Green Mountains, I believe, to save the Old Bay State, and New England's metropolis, from such a deed of infamy, if they

This is Buchanan's Fast! It is truly refreshing. real relishing," to hear that traitor to his God and ountry, after, by his imbecility, cowardice and treachery, guiding the ship of State amid rocks and breakers, call on the nation to pray to God to keep it from being dashed in pieces. The call is treated with much contempt in Vermont, and those who do fast and pray, fast and pray that God would remove speedily th cowardly traitor who has led the nation into its peril. I thank God the slaveholding Republic has reached its doom, though no thanks to the imbecile, slavehunting President that doomed it.

At the close of next Sunday, Jan. 6th, I shall have ectured in Vermont twenty times in sixteen:daysbesides attending three conferences. All ears are open to hear-all hearts open to feel. Consternation in all the land. At what? At the downfall of a Government which has been, from its beginning, the friend of slavery and enemy of liberty-an insult to God, and an outrage upon humanity-A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL. No onsternation is felt over four millions of men and nen turned into chattels, and bought and sold as brutes. Over this crime of the nation, with its attendant horrors, there is no moral indignation, no consternation; but over the downfall of the Republic that perpetrates the deed, all hearts quail, all faces are paled. With thanksgiving and the voice of melody do I behold this consummation, for which I have so

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

LAWRENCE, Jan. 3, 1860.

MR. GARRISON DEAR SIR-The Essex County Anti-Slavery Soci city, on Sunday, 30th ult. It held three sessions, at all of which Mr. A. T. Foss spoke. Mr. Charles L. Remond spoke briefly in the afternoon. There was a very good attendance in the morning, the hall was well filled in the afternoon, and crowded in the evenational institutions, all our ecclesiastical and political ning; and mostly by those who, seemingly, were ready and anxious to hear the real truth-and the much good anti-slavery seed sown, and, I trust, some of it, at least, fell on good ground. At the opening of the meeting, Mr. Foss said the meetings were free to all. If any had a thought to utter for or against the cause he was advocating, they would have liberty and opportunity to utter it. If any wished, they could ask questions at any time, or dissent from any thing he might say, only that their questions should be confined to the points under discussion, and they should make no display of rowdyism.

He then said slavery was like a pyramid standing on its apex, supported on either side by the Church, the Constitution, and commercial interest: and his work was to knock away these props, and let the wicked institution fall to the ground. And this he went about doing with a vigorous hand. He showed, in a clear and forcible manner, sustained by many facts, the complicity of the Church with slavery, pointed out the compromises in the Constitution support ing the "peculiar institution," and closed by say ing that, if we could induce men to obey the voice of God speaking in their own souls, instead of these outward authorities, there would be a speedy end to slavery. His thorough examination of the Europe, Asia, Africa, as well as of America! There in the theological nest to flutter, but, I think, on the whole, it did some good, as it showed that the knife the world, to blend and harmonize these two moral penetrated to the quick, and that there is life away down beneath the outward crust.

In the afternoon and evening, he discussed the following resolutions :-

Resolved, That the Union of these States was formed by a compromise of the rights of man, and tion of the American Church and Republic, called was therefore wrong in its inception, and could only minious end.

Resolved. That a union of liberty and slavery impossible, and we rejoice in the prospect of the de struction of the abortion, called the "American

In support of the resolutions, he referred to the articles in regard to representation, and the importa tion of the test-Are you for liberty, or for slavery? Slave- tion of such persons as any State should think proper and the rendition of fugitives, &c., and claimed that

He said the demoralized state of the press, the pulpit and political parties, showed that its progress had the innocent and the helpless. The verdict of God for the purpose of continuing slavery, proved that it was ever against them. The verdict of humanity is must come to an ignominious end. He said it was as impossible to unite liberty and slavery as it would be of this government proved this to be true, and that we as you and your coadjutors are concerned, should rejoice at the prospect of the destruction of every reason to hope for the abolition of slavery. After the discussion, the resolutions were passed by

Selected Articles.

THE "CONVENTION" AT ST. JAMES HALL.

According to previous announcement, this convention met at St. James Hall, yesterday afternoon.
A very limited number of persons were in attendance, most of whom had been drawn to the place by eded to deliver an address at some considera

In the evening, an audience, very little larger than that in attendance in the afternoon, assembled, among whom were to be noticed several colored men, and a few ladies. Susan, as usual, opened the ball, called the house to order, and introduced Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Elizabeth immediately drew her manuscript, and forthwith proceeded to inform those present of the horrible state of this those present of the horrible generally, and in this country particularly. She had derived her first impressions in regard to slavery from a little "nigger gal;" and that little "nigger gal," she, Elizabeth, considered as well posted in regal," she, Elizabeth, considered as well posted and gard to the horrors of the peculiar institution, and as well qualified to give an opinion as to its injustice, as the most eminent theologian or jurist. The Fugitive Slave law, of course, was duly "tackled,"—Jefferson was accused of very unhandsome things. Neither did the Dred Scott decision escape. She icither did the Dred Scott decision escape. She vowed that, after all the labor and talent bestowed pon it, the cart had been placed before the horse, any woman in the house, she thought, could have iven a better opinion. She thought it would be est to let South Carolina slide, in which case the est of us could live harmoniously together, after the nanner prescribed by her, Elizabeth. The lady nued her address at length, much after the style; but we have not the space or inclina-to follow her. She was listened to with respectful attention, and no inclination to disturb her s manifested. At the conclusion of her remarks, ex-Justice Hir

son arose, and expressed a desire to offer a resolu-tion. Birdseye Wilcox, Esq., objected, and moved that the meeting adjourn, accompanying his motion by some very emphatic remarks. Here followed much confusion, during which Mr. W.'s favorite exmuch confusion, during which Mr. W.'s favorite expression, "Augh!" was frequently heard. The ex-Justice finally obtained a hearing, and proceeded to take the sense of the meeting as to their approval redisapproval of the sentiments advanced by Mrs. Stanton. Those who coincided with the lady's ideas there requested to "manifest the same by sense." etting angry, and attempted to preserve silence, at without much success. Mr. Wilcox wished to beard; so did Mr. Hinson—neither gentleman eming to be well posted in regard to parliamentary mently for some time, in the course of which he was requently interrupted by groans, hisses, and aplause, and at one time, the police were obliged to therfere. Most of the ladies who were present got to leave, but at the request of Miss Anthony, veral of them resumed their scats.

After Mr. Green had finished.

Wilcox was elected, and proceeded to mount the stage, where he seated himself with much dignity. He was followed by Mr. Hinson and others, but just as proceedings were about to commence, the person in charge of the hall shut off the gas, and those who were yet in the hall were left in almost

night repeated. To speak of the whole thing in i mildest form is to say, it was a disgrace. Whi Susan B. Anthony and her coadjutors have an u oubted right to express their opinions, and that without molestation or hindrance, the policy of holdwithout molestation or landrance, the policy of hold-ing these miscalled "conventions" is very ques-tionable. We hope, for the credit of the city, that those who were in attendance, and by their inex-cusable conduct brought about a miniature pandeonium, will either keep away, or, if they present, will go prepared to observe the lecencies of life.—Buffalo Commercial Ad-

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION AND ITS FINALE.

The Abolition Convention held its second day's

In the evening, about two hundred persons assem-ed in the Hall. Chief of Police Best, with twenpolicemen, stood in readiness to repress any at-mpt to break up the meeting. His Honor the the Hall on a leass tayor, though suitering from sexness, was also pres-nt. Miss Anthony called, or attempted to call, the semblage to order, and introduced Mr. Green gain. His appearance was the signal for renewed primoil, which the police tried in vain to quash, ecorge Hinson rose, and wanted order, saying that Hinson nominated J. K. Tucker as Vice President, and Tucker was elected, and made a speech to the effect that he didn't know, and didn't want to know, what the objects of the meeting were, and the people where the people was ranch noise as they liked, for all the beautiful and the people was ranch noise as they liked, for all the beautiful and the people was ranch noise as they liked, for all the beautiful and the people was ranch noise as they liked, for all the beautiful and the beautiful an of him. Then there were cries for "Hinson"; first, had no paper (they meant idea) to draft resolutions but proceeded to read some incoherent nonsense from I. Then Burt Scott was elected, on George Hinform the back of an old letter. Just then, not know

All this while, Rev. Beriah was proceeding

an the pantonime of a speech, and the main body of the dience kept swaying to and fro from one part of the Hall to another. At last, there were loud cries the Hall to another. At last, there were loud cries for "Bristol," and Cyrenius C. accordingly mounted the platform. The Mayor at this stepped out, and declared that Mr. Bristol should not speak. Mr. Bristol "guessed he would try it on." The Mayor then called his force up, and was speedily surrounded by the police, when Mr. Bristol retired to the green room. To the close of Mr. Green's speech, the babel

Miss Anthony, after the speech was over, addressed the crowd with all the sarcasm and stinging invective she could command, and at the close of her remarks announced that she would proceed to take up a collection to defray expenses, which she did. Returning to the stage, she introduced Mrs. Elizabeth brought into Havana, with 900 negroes on board.

Buffalo, Jan. 5, 1861.

E. C. S.

This is certainly a nice little sum to pay for the entire increase of slavery. Three-fourths of the entire centry taken by a Spanish steamer of war, and slavery has not had its rights in the Union, and to rought into Havana, with 900 negroes on board.

olitionists had no reason to cease from their labors, Cady Stanton, a venerable looking lady, with gray olitionists had no reason to cease from their labors, at the seeming approach of the dawning of that day for which they have so long looked, but that they should work on until their hopes were fully realized.

At the close of the meetings, a voto of thanks was unanimously passed, tendering the thanks of the audience to the speakers for their faithful, carnest and eloquent addresses.

Yours, for the cause of humanity,

Cady Stanton, a venerable looking lady, with gray hair in curls, who proceeded to read from a manufactive circle. The uproar was redoubled, and she was at last obliged to retire. Susan B. again took the stand, amid the howls and stamping of the crowd. At last, somebody found the way to the gas meter, and in a monnent shut the meeting off into total darkness. Miss A. stood her ground till lights were procured, and then declared the convention adjourned. The conventionists were afterwards safely second out of the Hall by Chief Rest.

procured, and then declared the convention adjourned. The conventionists were afterwards safely escorted out of the Hall by Chief Best.

After the Abolitionists had left, the bulk of the audience still remaining, George Hinson proposed a re-organization, and nominated H. E. Howard as Chairman. Mr. Howard accepted on condition that the meeting should keep perfect order. R. D. Ford was chosen Secretary. vas chosen Secretary.

It was moved and carried that a Committee of five

It was moved and carried that a Committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions. E. R. Jewett and John L. Tallcott were named among others, but per-emptorily declined. The following gentlemen ac-cepted: Chas. Sherman, Horatio Seymour, Thos. Trueman, Wm. Monteith, and C. S. Macomber. The Committee retired, and loud calls were sent up for Tailcott. Mr. Tallcott wished to know the

ects of the meeting. The Chairman told him it been got up on the spur of the moment, and was had been got up on the spur of the induced pledged to discuss no question which would bring on disturbance. That was all the object he knew of its having. Mr. Tallcott professed himself unable to fulfill these conditions, and so declined speaking. George Hinson was appointed a comm bscriptions to pay for the Hall. He collected \$3.34.

Horatio Seymour, Esq., reported from the Committee on Resolutions. They had thought proper to express, in few words, the sentiments of the community, in view of such an inopportune gathering of fanatics as had just been wit Resolved, That in view of the deep feeling and so

Resolved, That in view of the deep feeling and so-licitude of our people, and the threatening aspect of our national affairs, we regard the calling of a meeting at this place to give utterance to the wild theories of fanatical Abolitionists, with unqualified disapprobation. Resolved, That if this class of people are desirous to utter their treasonable sentiments, we trust that they will in future select some other locality than the city of Buffalo.

The resolutions were adopted vociferously and ously, and the meeting forthwith adjourned.

THE A. S. CONVENTION-ANOTHER DIS-GRACEFUL DISTURBANCE.

St. James Hall was the scene of another tumult last evening, even more disgraceful to our city and more outrageous than that of the night before. We shall not describe it in detail, for we feel too much

Stanton. Those who coincided with the lady's ideas were requested to "manifest the same by saying aye." An impressive silence followed. Those opposed were desired to say no; and they said "No!" most emphatically, and with almost absolute unaminity. Things here began to assume rather an uproarious look, and Miss Anthony appeared to be getting angry, and attempted to preserve silence, the folly of persecuting and treating with violence whatever putch size the said "No!" whatever ultraism may be deprecated) cannot suffice for the preservation of order and the right of speech, it is a pity that our laws cannot be made to

up to leave, but at the request of Miss Anthony, several of them resumed their seats.

After Mr. Green had finished, a young gentleman, who was introduced as Geo. W. Taylor, of Eric Co., came forward and attempted to speak, but the confusion was so great that he was obliged to desist. He was called upon by some one for a song, and, making a virtue of necessity, commenced to sing a hymn, in a low, almost inaudible voice. This, however, did not please some dissatisfied persons, who struck up "The Star Spangled Banner," and sang it with such volume as completely to drown the ch volume as completely to drown the a ling the disturbance of the meeting, when he took the stand in response to calls.

the stand in response to calls.

The Mayor regained a considerable degree of order, which lasted, however, only for a short period, The confusion here became so great, that Mr.

Taylor was no longer heard, and Miss Anthony, after announcing the programme for to-day, and expressing her disgust at the treatment she and her associates had received, declared the Convention of the "convention" soon had to give up to the impossion of the "convention" soon had to give up to the "convention" s of the "convention" soon had to give up to the impossibility of carrying on their proceedings in such a Mr. Hinson moved a re-organization of the meet-

On the adjournment of the "convention," its right, but we now waive it, inasmuch as nothing oc-We hope never to see the proceedings of last ght repeated. To speak of the whole thing in its other matter.—Buffalo Express, 5th inst.

FREE SPEECH IN BUFFALO. To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard:

The Union is saved! The danger of secession is passed, if you can only let Carolina know as speedily as possible that our Northern Buffaloeshave come forth in their might, trampled the right of free speech in the dust, and cut the jugular vein of Abolitionism, by mobbing one slender gray-haired man, and two "strong-minded" women. These wild bovines, in defiance of law and order, tramped into the hall of St. James, and worried the three helpless "fanatics" with their hideous bellowings through two entire days. The Mayor came to the rescue, and looked days. The Mayor came to the rescue, and consected the herd bravely and steadily in the face, made a noble, manly speech, and ordered his police (some fifty or sixty in number, admitted free, for the experience order) to do their duty, The Aboution Convention held its second day's sosion yesterday, in St. James Hall. It did not assemble till late in the afternoon, nor was there apparently any stronger show of Abolition strength than was manifest on Thursday. Miss Anthony, as before, was the executive. Rev. Beriah Green again took the stand, and delivered, in great part, a repetition of what he had said the previous day. The meeting was continuously interrupted by shouts and the previous day. The meeting was continuously interrupted by shouts and the previous day. The meeting was continuously interrupted by shouts and the previous day. The meeting was continuously interrupted by shouts and the previous day. took the stand, and delivered, in great part, a repetition of what he had said the previous day. The meeting was continuously interrupted by shouts and shuffling of feet on the part of the audience, and shuffling of feet on the part of the audience, and bell-Everett ranks, among them the distinguished juniors of Millard Fillmore and Horation.

The speakers, through much tribulation, Seymour. The speakers, through much tribulation, said their say, and at 10 o'clock the meeting adjourned. Whereupon the bovines took possession of the Hall on a lease of ten dollars an hour, and with great efforts raised three dollars and forty-five cents. They then proceeded to organize, and with difficulty found a man willing to assume such grave responsi-bilities. Mr. Talcott, a member of the bar, rose and asked the Chair to state the objects of the meeting. Susan" couldn't be heard. Then the audience amorously elected Mr. Addington as "extra Chairan," and Mr. A. trotted up on to the stage, and ent through the motions of a speech. Then George inson nominated J. K. Tucker as Vice President, at Tucker was elected, and made a speech to the difference of the meeting, and the content of the meeting of the meeting of the meeting of the meeting. The Chairman, recovering, said, he "didn't exactly know the object of the meeting," but he "s'posed it was for free discussion about exactly the meeting of th

H. Then Burt Scott was elected, on George Hinson's nomination, to a chair on the stage, which he declined, and somebody made a motion to put Hinson out, which Miss Anthony declared was carried, calling, at the same time, on the police to carry the motion into effect. Then three lusty cheers for the Union were given, and somebody struck up the "Star Spangled Banner."

But Proceeded to read some incoherent nonsense from the back of an old letter. Just then, not knowing for what they met, or how to do it, seme rogue closed their dranken vagaries by turning off the gas. And thus ended an Anti-Slavery Convention in one of the largest cities of the Empire State, on the Fast day of our pious President—the immortal "platform," James Buchanan—in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one. hundred and sixty-one.

Free Speech in South Carolina is tarred and

hundred and sixty-one.

Free Speech in South Carolina is tarred and feathered, exiled and hung. In Washington it is subject to bluster, threat, insult and ridicule. In Boston, the very sprigs of fashion choke it down with perfume and soft resolutions in favor of what it suffers south of the line. But in the "City of the West," within the sound of Niagara's roar, in the presence of such solemn majesty, rude Buffaloes are tel losse to trample on the constitutional rights of let loose to trample on the constitutional rights of freemen—to insult and ridicule the daughters of Pilgrim Fathers, standing in the forum to plead for stice and mercy for an outraged race.

Buffalo, Jan. 5, 1861.

E. C. S.

CHEATED OUT OF A ROW.

The lecture which was to have been delivered by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina, the Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina, the atthor of a The Impending Crisis," on the Two 8ys,
tems of Labor, did not come off, but was postponed
on account of the weather. At about 8.30 P. M.
however, when the hall was descrited, a company he
gan to come in—first among them the editor of the
Day Book, who was very anxious to find a place where he could pay an entrance fee. Dr. Sayre, Dr. W. K. Cleveland, Capt. Wi number of gentlemen who used to congre the Breekinridge Headquarters, came in b making in all twelve or fifteen people, be porter. There was lively conversation in rela the black and white races for twenty minute of which was too indecent to be even hinted at in this journal. The janitor then turned down the whereupon they begged him to desist for a few mi utes, and Dr. Sayre was called to the chair—a vi ow seat near the door.

Dr. CLEVELAND then read the following resch

the Northern States for a number of years to inculcate doctrines subversive of the best to inculcate doctrines subversive of the best interest of our common country, and have drawn after the numbers of ignorant and thoughtless persons who we not aware that such doctrines were in violation of a Constitution; and, whereas, parties embracing the heretical notions have grown to such political power in some of the Northern States as to have paused in which are in violation of the Constitution. which are in violation of the Constitution of succession of succession of the constitution of our common Confederacy, and therefore unjust toward the Southern States; and, whereas, a large portion of the pulpit and the public press have been pervent of the pulpit and the public press have been pervent of the der, falsehood, and detraction against the Southern people, and treason against the Government; therefore,

Resolved, That we sincerely sympathize with our Southern brethren in their just complaints. which are in violation of the Co

Resolved, That we sincerely sympathize with our Southern brethren in their just complaints.

Resolved, That the misguided fanatics who have spread by their treasonable doctrines the discord that is now imperiling our condition as a united people, are traitors to the country! their teachings heretical and unconstitutional, and their influence fatal to the reversity of the Union.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the President of the United States. bound by his official oath to we

Resolved, That it is the duty of the President of the United States, bound by his official out, to use every constitutional means to effect the immediate repeal of those obnoxious and unconstitutional law passed by many of the Northern States.

Resolved, That the doctrines of Horace Greeley, William H. Seward, Henry Ward Beccher, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and others of that familical stamp, are treasonable in their nature, disturbing to the general peace, calculated to mislead the ignoran, and should be held up to the just indignation, condensation, and suppression of every community. nation, and suppression of every commit it is endeavored to express them.

Capt. WILEY moved their adoption, and they rere unanimously adopted.

Mr. F. L. TALCOTT moved that when they adjourn, they adjourn to meet at the next lecture of Mr. Helper in New York, and this motion was can

ot agree with the others, because they said:

We will come peaceably."

Whereupon followed a consultation in regard to propriety of reconsidering the last vote.

Dr. SAYRE said that the object of the meeting was not hostile to Mr. Helper; mation. He found nothing in Helper's book but demation. He found nothing in Helper's book but de-traction, falsehood, and slander, calculated to do great harm. He would like to hear him compare the two systems of labor, and if he argued that with-out touching the Constitution of the United States, he would give him the right to speak and preach from now till doomsday, simply giving them the privilege of review. The great damage that had been done had been from this speech having been published as a campaign document, containing the doctrines of the Republican party. Horace Greeler knew this was wrong; but th Seward and Morgan had come out and denounced it.

Mr. Horton—Did Morgan denounce it? Inever

eard of that.

Dr. SAYRE—Then I say that he ought to. But I say the people of New York should get up a meeting to compliment Thurlow Weed, for he was more of a patriot and statesman than any and all of the Republican party. He deserved to be sufficiently all patriotic, Union-saving citizens of the United when the South saw men like Andrew. elected to be the Governor of a great State, after having glorified John Brown, they might well believe

at we were all alike.

Mr. Hortos—Don't you believe that every Re-

oublican wants to pen Slavery in?

Dr. SAYRE—Yes.

Mr. HORTON—I think you are giving them too

Dr. SAYRE-It is not a proper time for a disussion of their real crimes, and their real sins The Grammar Schools and the Sunday Schools teach children that Slavery is a sin, which is in vio-lation of the Bible; and they have become infidels,

all of them.

Mr. HORTON-Yes, sir; I agree with every word

Dr. SAYRE-A man tried to answer Mr. Van Dycke, and he worked three weeks at his sen and the day before he was to deliver it, his brains were taken away from him so conspicuously that even his abolition friends thought he was a fool Capt. WILEY moved a reconsideration of the last but, after consultation, withdrew his motion.

Mr. HORTON-Better let it be as it is. We don't want to hurt Mr. Helper.

Dr. SAYRE—Only it may be possible that a Metro politan Police, who are paid by the City of New York, in violation of the Constitution and of the State, and who were originally intended to defead the Constitution, are now paid to protect the traitors to the country, to club down honest citizens who meet to sustain the Constitution. In the Cooper we should have the room afterward to pa

us all out of a building dedicated by its sign to the Capt. WILEY-I want to know if, in this great metropolis of New York, there are not more people than the police? I think the Union-loving people than the police? ple, when they are invited to attend the next lecture, will be delighted to come, if they have an opportunity to know what is to take place. I think they are the sovereigns, and the police are ther servants; and I think it is possible that they might come before the police, and that the literat might be crowded out of doors by the bone and since, who don't get an opportunity very often. If they should get here before, why, then, what would the servants of the people do when they saw the yeognam?

A GENTLEMAN-Take a back seat. Capt. WILEY—They would take a back sest. (Laughter.)
The meeting then adjourned.

COST OF SLAVE TERRITORY.

As our dear Southern brethren are about to break up the Union because they cannot rule it forever, and as they complain that we of the free States thought it might be interesting to call attention the following figures, showing how much money he really been paid by the United States Government to extend the area of slavery on this continent.

COST OF TERRITORY PURCHASED. Louisiana, (purchased of France,) Interest paid, Florida, (purchased of Spain,) Interest paid, Texas, (for boundary,) Texas, (for creditors, last Congress,) To purchase navy, pay troops, All other expenditures, Mexican War, Soldiers' pensions and bounty lands, Florida War, Soldiers' pensions, To remove Indians, Paid by treaty for New Mexico, Paid to extinguish Indian titles, \$832,764,908

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Let us endeavo

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resentment in abore some of the offen-been committed a Justice to our to say, in the first serious and pro-among us, whose solution of the U had among us a c and noise have su have carried on against the Gospe then against socia They have sough destroy the Chri government in prehensive and s promised more to this into an activ actuated by the rights of man, and they gave them slass all other infide harity as a cloa rould have it th laimed was to er leaving every on the embodiment oint of assault. villanies, should be this. Christianity should be ruthle

and against our l whole generation made is much p North. And at have indirectly digard which is co Christian portion received an unhe spirit. Many son honestly repudia have yet had the idelity. But the been upon the S been caught up Northern feeling nant retorts upo our Northern pe provocations giv

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tian apostles, and for political agits

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"Let as maccount their own name of God And they that do them service partakers of the hort. If any me wholesome won Christ, and to the liness, he is pro-

Now who do pointed conder